TIME

‘THE WORLD MOVES ON AND YOU DON’T’

PARENTS WHO LOST A CHILD IN A SCHOOL SHOOTING ON THE PAIN THAT NEVER ENDS

By **HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS** *and* **BELINDA LUSCOMBE**

CHEVY. THE ONLY BRAND TO EARN J.D. POWER DEPENDABILITY AWARDS ACROSS CARS, TRUCKS AND SUVS. THREE YEARS IN A ROW.

2018 EQUINOX

2018 SILVERADO

Current awards based on 2013, 2014 and 2015 model year vehicles.

Over 35,000 owners were asked by J.D. Power to rate the dependability of their vehicles after three years of ownership. The result? Confirmation that when it comes to Chevrolet cars, trucks and SUVs, peace of mind comes standard.

2018 "MOST DEPENDABLE COMPACT SUV, MIDSIZE SUV, MIDSIZE CAR AND LARGE LIGHT DUTY PICKUP"
2017 "MOST DEPENDABLE SMALL CAR, LARGE SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"
2016 "MOST DEPENDABLE MIDSIZE CAR, COMPACT SUV, LARGE HEAVY DUTY PICKUP AND MIDSIZE SPORTY CAR"

For J.D. Power 2018 award information, visit jdpower.com/awards.

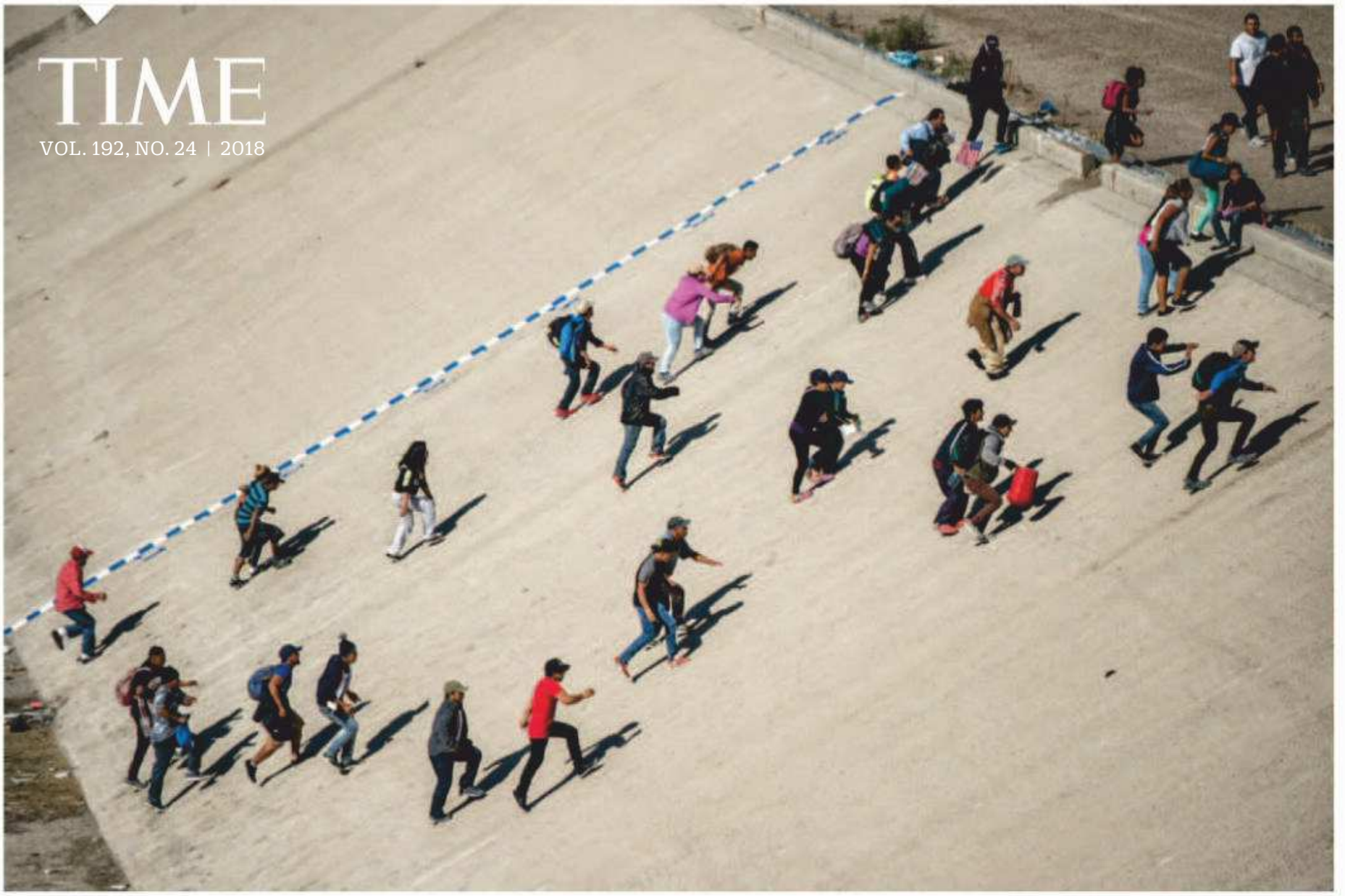
2018 TRAVERSE

2018 MALIBU

FIND NEW ROADS™

CHEVROLET

TIME
VOL. 192, NO. 24 | 2018



4 | Conversation
6 | For the Record

The Brief

News from the U.S. and around the world

9 | What's in the new **climate report**

11 | **GM cars** on the chopping block

12 | Getting **works of art** back home

14 | Anjelica Huston remembers filmmaker **Nicolas Roeg**

16 | TIME with … Argentine President **Mauricio Macri**

19 | China's claims of **gene-edited** babies

20 | **Migrants** in turmoil in Tijuana

The View

Ideas, opinion, innovations

23 | James Stavridis on the Russian threat to **Ukraine**—and beyond

25 | Ian Bremmer on who can replace Germany's **Angela Merkel**

25 | **Brexit** and U.S.-U.K. ties

26 | Six ways to **move more**

Features

Bound by Grief
Parents of kids killed in school shootings turn to each other for support
By Haley Sweetland Edwards and Belinda Luscombe **28**

Far-Right Turn
Instead of battling extremists, Austrian Chancellor Sebastian Kurz is partnering with them
By Simon Shuster **36**

Falling Angels
The Victoria's Secret ideal of what's sexy collides with women who say "no sale"
By Amy Odell **44**

Time Off

What to watch, read, see and do

53 | A movie season of **women in power**

55 | Quick Talk with Britain's **Olivia Colman**

56 | Julia Roberts in ***Ben Is Back***

59 | Marveling at ***Mrs. Maisel***

60 | Michelle Obama's ***Becoming***

63 | 'Tis the season for **holiday songs**

64 | 8 Questions for director **Peter Jackson**

Central American migrants heading toward the U.S. border cross the nearly dry riverbed of Mexico's Tijuana River on Nov. 25

Photograph by Pedro Pardo—AFP/Getty Images

ON THE COVER: Seven parents who lost a child in school shootings. Back row, from left: Melissa Willey, Darrell Scott, Middle row: Andrew Pollack, Darshell Scott, Pamela Wright-Young. Front row: Tom Mauser, Nicole Hockley. Photograph by Adam Ferguson for TIME

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two skipped weeks in January and one skipped week in March, May, July, August, September and December due to combined issues by You.com USA, LLC d/b/a TIME. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to Time Magazine PO BOX 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement # 40069223. BN# 888381621RT0001. © 2018 You.com USA, LLC d/b/a TIME. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, please use our website: ***www.time.com/myaccount.*** You can also call 1-800-843-8463 or write Time Magazine PO Box 37508 Boone, IA 50037-0508. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is strictly prohibited. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. ◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

CLUB

You don't have to decorate *everything* this holiday.

Flaky. Buttery.

already perfect

®, TM, © 2018 Kellogg NA Co.

WHAT YOU SAID ABOUT...

AMERICAN LIKE ME The immigrant experience informed reader reaction to Viet Thanh Nguyen's essay, about growing up in the U.S. as a Vietnamese refugee, in the Nov. 26/Dec. 3 issue. On Twitter, @anu_par described "straddling two worlds" as American and Indian, and was glad the piece offered "the space to be both." But Dr. Chuc Pham of Forsyth, Ga., was saddened by his fellow Vietnamese refugee's critical eye toward their adopted home: "Next time Mr. Nguyen wonders which America he lives in, he should instead wonder which American he wants to be." Meanwhile, the cover image's diverse recasting of Norman Rockwell's *Freedom of Worship* left Earl Martin of Harrisonburg, Va., feeling grateful. "If that describes us," he wrote, "how rich and lucky we are!"

> ***'I wish that we [could] become a country embracing the people who chose us.'***
>
> **PAMELA HARDER,** Cropseyville, N.Y.

WHO REALLY COUNTS In a piece in the same issue, former Republican strategist Elise Jordan described the GOP's voter suppression efforts in the 2018 midterm elections. Many readers shared her fury. "It's like the states are making it more difficult" to vote, wrote Louise S. Shields of Henderson, Nev. However, J. Linwood Keith of Atlanta called the op-ed a "lecture" that blamed white Southerners for too much. "There are a lot of problems in our country but I am not responsible for them," he wrote. And Martin Bensky of Richland, Wash., saw lots of possible solutions to boost turnout, including making Election Day a holiday or moving it to a weekend.

> ***'We all need to stay vigilant.'***
>
> **MICHAEL SOZAN,** senior fellow at the Center for American Progress, Washington, D.C.

PERSON OF THE YEAR POLL Who do you think was the most influential person of 2018? That's the question TIME considers every year when selecting the Person of the Year: that individual—or thing or group—who has had the greatest impact, for better or worse, on the events of the past 12 months. While TIME's editors ultimately select the Person of the Year, a tradition that began with Charles Lindbergh in 1927, the annual readers' poll offers a chance for you to weigh in. Cast a vote at **time.com/2018-poll**

GETTING GRITTY Sometimes influence is difficult to predict. Case in point: Gritty, the Philadelphia Flyers' new mascot, is the hockey season's breakout star. In an email interview with TIME, the orange monster describes his situation as "a lot like being an old hero, but with that new-hero smell." Read more at **time.com/gritty-interview**

bonus TIME politics

Subscribe to TIME's free politics newsletter and get **exclusive news and insights from Washington,** sent straight to your inbox. For more, visit **time.com/politicsemail**

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT In "The 10 Best Theater Productions" (Nov. 26/Dec. 3), we mischaracterized *Yerma* as an adaptation of a 1934 poem by Federico García Lorca. The original *Yerma* is a play written by García Lorca.

TALK TO US

SEND AN EMAIL:
letters@time.com
Please do not send attachments

FOLLOW US:
facebook.com/time
@time (Twitter and Instagram)

Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

Back Issues Contact us at help.single@customersvc.com or call 1-800-274-6800. **Reprints and Permissions** Information is available at time.com/reprints. To request custom reprints, visit timereprints.com. **Advertising** For advertising rates and our editorial calendar, visit timemediakit.com. **Syndication** For international licensing and syndication requests, visit timeinc.com/syndication.

Please recycle this magazine and remove inserts or samples before recycling

POLL: GETTY IMAGES (9); GRITTY: AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

MISSISSIPPI RIVER | SOUTHEAST | NEW ENGLAND | ALASKA | PACIFIC NORTHWEST

SMOOTH WATER, SOUTHERN CHARM

Cruising the Historic South with American Cruise Lines is an exploration of southern grace and natural beauty. Experience Savannah, Charleston, Jekyll Island and more, while you delight in the comfort of our new, small ships. *Small Ship Cruising Done Perfectly.®*

LARGEST STATEROOMS

8-DAY ITINERARY

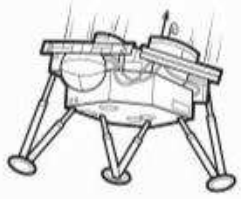
AMERICA'S NEWEST FLEET

Call today for your **FREE** Cruise Guide

1-800-913-2493

AmericanCruiseLines.com

For the Record



‘It’s transactional, it’s not personal.’

MIA LOVE,
Utah Republican Congresswoman, on her party’s relationship with minority voters; in a Nov. 26 concession speech, Love, who is black, named that dynamic as a factor in her re-election loss

‘EUROPE NEEDS TO GET A HANDLE ON MIGRATION BECAUSE THAT IS WHAT LIT THE FLAME.’

HILLARY CLINTON,
former U.S. Secretary of State, arguing in an interview with the *Guardian* that policies welcoming migrants have fueled right-wing populism

‘This is the right deal for Britain.’

THERESA MAY,
U.K. Prime Minister, defending her proposed Brexit deal before the House of Commons

‘After signing the plea agreement, Manafort committed federal crimes by lying to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Special Counsel’s Office on a variety of subject matters.’

ROBERT S. MUELLER,
special counsel investigating Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, in a Nov. 26 court filing accusing President Trump’s former campaign chairman Paul Manafort of violating the terms of a plea deal; Manafort denied the government’s characterization of his behavior

7

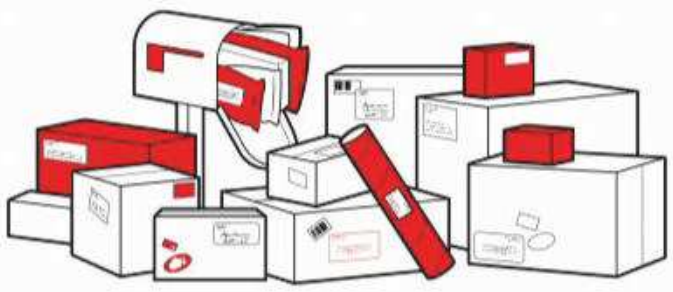
Approximate time in minutes during which NASA’s InSight spacecraft had to slow from 12,300 m.p.h. to 5 m.p.h. in order to make its landing on Mars on Nov. 26; that period of swift deceleration is known among engineers as “seven minutes of terror”

‘The tower continues to straighten—if slightly.’

SALVATORE SETTIS,
member of the official committee monitoring Italy’s Leaning Tower of Pisa; the monument’s tilt has been reduced by 1.5 in. since it reopened in 2001 after a restoration effort

$6.22 billion

Record-setting volume of online sales on Black Friday—including $2 billion spent via smartphones—according to Adobe Analytics



Romaine
***E. coli* leads CDC to warn Americans off the lettuce; a week later, some harvests still dangerous**

Romans
Well-preserved fresco illustrating the myth of Leda and the Swan excavated in Pompeii

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

SOURCES: ASSOCIATED PRESS; BBC; CNBC; CNN; NEW YORK TIMES

The Brief

HERE ON EARTH Coal, which powers the West Virginia plant seen here, is just one factor in a frightening new climate forecast

INSIDE

MAJOR LAYOFFS AT GENERAL MOTORS HERALD EVEN LARGER CHANGES AHEAD

AFTER HISTORIC CONVICTIONS, CAMBODIA'S WAR-CRIMES TRIBUNAL IS AT A CROSSROADS

ANJELICA HUSTON REMEMBERS FILMMAKER NICOLAS ROEG AS "A GENIUS AT WHAT HE DID"

PHOTOGRAPH BY GEORGE ETHEREDGE

ENVIRONMENT

Trump deaf to dire U.S. climate warning

By Justin Worland

AS A COLD SPELL SETTLED ACROSS PARTS OF the U.S. over the Thanksgiving holiday, President Donald Trump took to Twitter with a question he shouldn't need to ask: "Whatever happened to Global Warming?" he mused on Nov. 21.

Two days later, scientists working for 13 agencies across his Administration gave Trump a stark reminder. The climate—which, despite the President's question, is not the same thing as the daily weather—remains very much in peril, and its warming threatens the welfare of the U.S. That finding, which came as part of a long-planned and congressionally mandated report, underscores the reality of climate change during the Trump presidency. The President may not "believe" in climate change or understand the science behind it, but he cannot control its political, economic and scientific consequences. And those consequences are bleak.

The report, known as the National Climate Assessment, runs to more than 1,000 pages and is the work of more than 300 authors who break down climate change's impacts across the country. The phenomenon has already damaged infrastructure and ecosystems in communities across the U.S.—and, barring dramatic action, that's just the beginning. Weather events will get more extreme, new climate conditions will allow for the spread of disease, and factors such as reduced agricultural output will shave hundreds of billions of dollars off U.S. economic growth by the end of the century.

In short, the effects of warming "threaten the health and well-being of the American people" and "disrupt many areas of life, exacerbating existing challenges and revealing new risks," says David Easterling, a report author and scientist at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

But the warning fell flat for Trump. "I don't believe it," he said when asked about the findings. The baseless response—climate change is a matter of fact, not opinion—was unsurprising from a political leader who has in the past dismissed the idea that humans are causing global warming as a "hoax" and promised to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement, the landmark 2015 accord on the issue. Indeed, the White House faced questions about whether it had tried to bury the report by moving its release from mid-December to the Friday after Thanksgiving at the last minute. Although officials on a press call suggested that change in timing was an effort to get ahead of upcoming climate-related conferences, they declined to say directly whether the White House had ordered the Black Friday release.

'I've seen it, I've read some of it, and it's fine ... I don't believe it.'

DONALD TRUMP, U.S. President, when asked by reporters on Nov. 26 about the National Climate Assessment

NO MATTER THE White House's rejection of climate change, the report's authors minced no words about what needs to be done to mitigate its impact: "immediate and substantial global greenhouse-gas emissions reductions."

That *global* is key. Trump is the most prominent leader to deny the science, but many countries that endorse climate science are also falling behind in the effort to address it. A new report from the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) released just days after the National Climate Assessment showed that the majority of G-20 countries aren't following through on their own promises to reduce their greenhouse-gas emissions. Even if they did, the report finds, the world would fall short of limiting temperature rise to safe levels. Collectively, countries would need to increase their commitments fivefold to keep temperature rise below 1.5°C, according to the report.

The National Climate Assessment and the UNEP publication are the latest in a string of important climate reports to capture the headlines in recent months. Most significantly, an analysis from the U.N.'s climate-science body released in October showed that the consequences of temperatures rising more than that 1.5°C threshold would be catastrophic for many parts of the world.

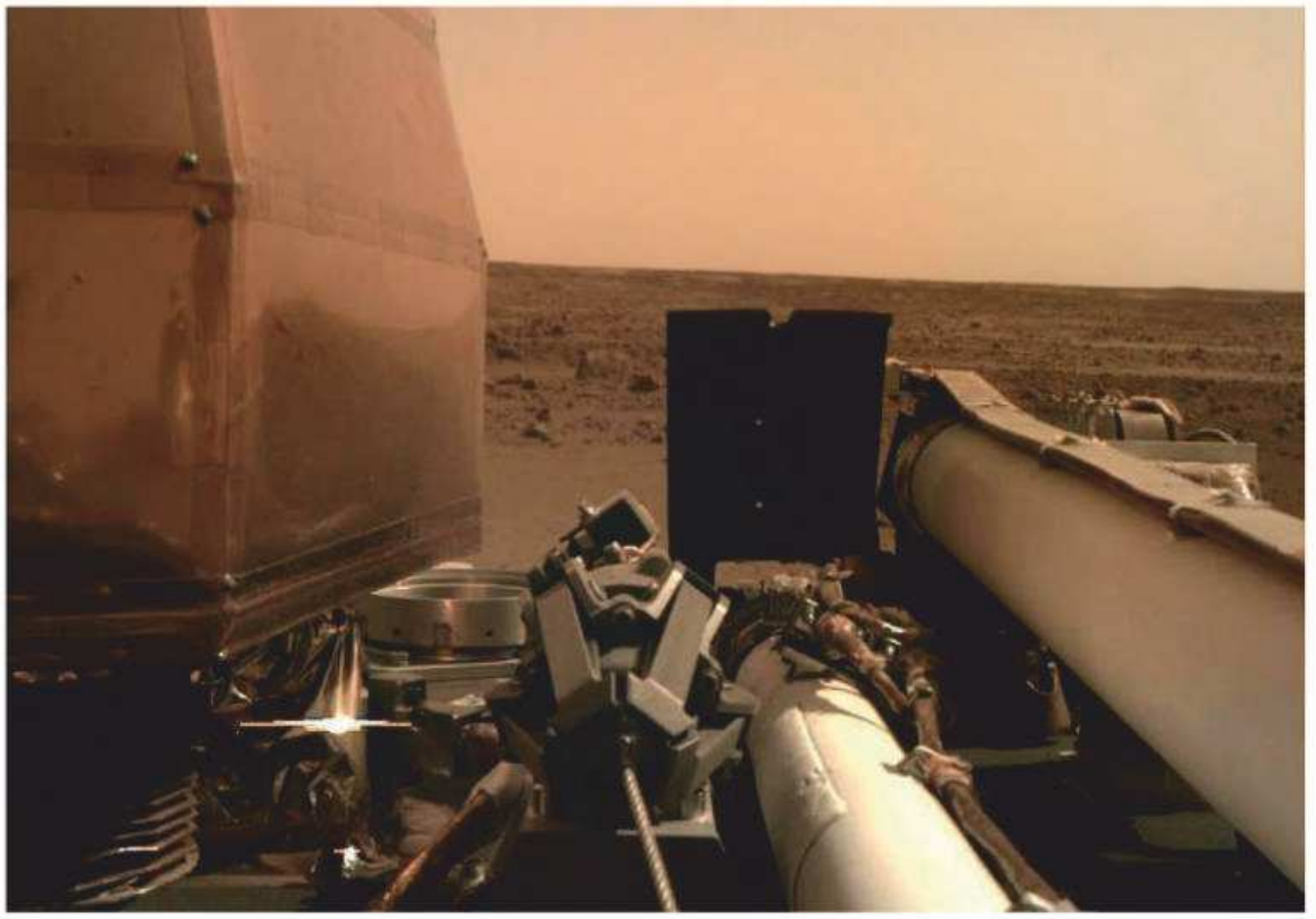
The good news is that the same reports that sound the alarm also lay out pathways to deal with the issue. A strong price on carbon, implemented through a measure such as a carbon tax, could cut emissions by 40% in some countries, UNEP found. And the U.S. climate assessment lists everything from expanding renewables to capturing and storing carbon dioxide as possible fixes.

Most directly, climate scientists and environmental advocates hope that the reports will build momentum ahead of the U.N. climate-change conference in Poland in December. Diplomats from nearly 200 countries need to reach agreement on a slew of technical issues to implement the Paris Agreement and keep it from fading in relevance.

"We do have a possibility to have a positive outcome," Patricia Espinosa, head of the U.N.'s climate-change body, told TIME about the upcoming negotiations. But "we are still facing a lot of challenges, and one of them is the lack of time."

Meanwhile, humans will continue to feel the effects of a hotter planet. On Nov. 27, the World Meteorological Organization warned of at least a 75% chance that El Niño, a natural ocean-warming phenomenon that scientists say is worsened by climate change, will strike again next year. This won't be the last time we feel the impact of our planetary problem, and it's only likely to get worse. ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; THESE PAGES: TRUMP: SEAN GALLUP—GETTY IMAGES; MARS: NASA/JPL-CALTECH



TOUCHDOWN After a journey of nearly seven months and more than 300 million miles, NASA's InSight lander arrived safely on the surface of Mars on Nov. 26. Staff at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, Calif., applauded and cheered its success. On its first day on the Martian surface, a camera on the lander's robotic arm captured this image; it was relayed to scientists on Earth by NASA's Odyssey spacecraft, which is currently orbiting the Red Planet. InSight will spend two years on Mars studying the planet's interior as part of a quest to better understand how celestial bodies were formed.

THE BULLETIN

General Motors layoffs signal uncertain future for American cars—and more

WHEN GENERAL MOTORS ANNOUNCED ON Nov. 26 that it was halting production at five factories and cutting 15% of its workforce, the news came as a major blow not only to autoworkers but also to President Donald Trump, whose economic agenda was built on the promise that he would bring manufacturing jobs back to the U.S. The layoffs also suggested something broader: economic instability that extends well beyond a single company, as automakers face rising tariffs, declining sales and changing consumer habits.

CHANGING GEARS GM's announcement left manufacturing cities reeling. The company says it will halt production at plants in Lordstown, Ohio; Detroit and Warren, Mich.; White Marsh, Md.; and Ontario, Canada. It will also lay off more than 14,000 workers, including 25% of its executives. The changes come as part of a global restructuring for the company, which has said it will move away from lower-selling sedan models to focus on electric and autonomous cars, as well as crossovers, SUVs and efficient trucks.

HIT THE BRAKES The United Auto Workers union said it would challenge the move through "every legal, contractual and collective bargaining avenue open to our membership," and politicians on both sides of the aisle also slammed the layoffs. President Trump weighed in too, saying he directed GM CEO Mary Barra to replace production in the affected factories with other models rather than closing plants. "You better get back in there soon," he said he told the CEO.

MOVING FORWARD The company responded to the backlash by saying it was only doing what was needed to support future jobs, and Barra described her company's decision as necessary to "stay in front of a fast-changing market." Ford and Chrysler have made similar moves, with both saying they would stop making sedans. But all have also warned they could be impacted by tariffs on raw materials. With those forecasts now coming to bear, experts caution that GM's move could be a sign not only of which cars Americans will drive in the future, but also of an economy-wide slowdown ahead. —ABIGAIL ABRAMS

NEWS TICKER

3 U.S. troops killed in Afghanistan

On Nov. 27, a roadside bomb killed three American soldiers and wounded three more in the province of Ghazni, in the **deadliest attack on U.S. troops in Afghanistan this year;** the Taliban claimed responsibility. In total, 13 Americans have died in combat in Afghanistan in 2018.

Search called off for man killed by tribe

Indian officials announced their decision not to retrieve the body of John Allen Chau, an **American Christian missionary killed by tribespeople** when he landed on the isolated North Sentinel island on Nov. 17. Rights groups say contact with outsiders could put the Sentinelese at risk of contracting potentially deadly illnesses.

Republican wins runoff in Mississippi

GOP incumbent **Senator Cindy Hyde-Smith defeated Democrat Mike Espy** in a Nov. 27 special runoff election. President Trump had rallied for Hyde-Smith, who had drawn outrage over comments seen to evoke the state's dark history of lynchings; Espy would have been Mississippi's first black Senator since Reconstruction.

NEWS TICKER

Major setback for Taiwan's ruling party

Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen quit as chair of the **Democratic Progressive Party, which supports independence from China, after the party lost control of crucial seats** in the Nov. 24 elections. In a referendum held the same day, Taiwan also voted not to legalize same-sex marriage.

Former Trump aide goes to prison

Former Trump campaign adviser **George Papadopoulos began serving a two-week prison sentence** in Oxford, Wis., on Nov. 26, after a judge denied a last-minute request for a delay. He was the first person charged in special counsel Robert Mueller's Russia probe and pleaded guilty last year to lying to the FBI. Papadopoulos has also been fined $9,500.

Thousands march against violence toward women

On Nov. 25, people around the world **took to the streets to mark the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women.** According to a new U.N. report, 137 women were killed by a partner or relative each day in 2017.

GOOD QUESTION

Why might a genocide verdict in Cambodia be the last of its kind?

FOUR DECADES AFTER THE VICIOUS EXTERmination led by Cambodia's Khmer Rouge regime killed 1.7 million people—a fifth of the country's population—and harmed countless others, some justice is finally being served. On Nov. 16, the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC), a hybrid bench of Cambodian and foreign prosecutors, found former regime leaders Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan guilty of genocide against the ethnic Vietnamese from 1975 to 1979; Nuon Chea was also convicted of genocide against the Cham people. The ruling marked the first time the U.N.-backed Cambodian tribunal has handed down the notoriously elusive verdict of genocide. It may also be the last.

The decision recalled the lofty goals of the ECCC, which was established in 2003 and lauded as a model for postconflict reconciliation. The first indictments were logged four years later, but the tribunal was derailed by its slow pace, high costs and allegations of corruption. A 2016 report by human-rights lawyers warned that "ongoing government interference" jeopardized the court's "legacy and legitimacy."

Cambodia has permitted investigations of "senior leaders" only, thus protecting untold numbers of former cadres. Prime Minister Hun Sen, himself a Khmer Rouge defector, warned that a trial could spark a civil war and called for Cambodians to "dig a hole and bury the past."

Some feel the court has done just that. After spending over a decade and more than $300 million, the ECCC sentenced just three defendants; two others died before receiving verdicts. (By comparison, U.N.-led tribunals in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia led to 62 and 89 convictions respectively.) In the end, 186 witnesses and experts gave testimony in the second trial of Nuon Chea and Khieu Samphan, which began in 2014 and even now is likely to continue with appeals.

Though two other cases remain in limbo, Cambodia has declared that no more trials will move ahead. Interior Minister Sar Kheng, another ex-cadre, recently told locals in a former Khmer Rouge stronghold not to worry, as "no more investigations" would take place.

The ECCC's outcome may now serve as a cautionary tale for tribunals elsewhere. The U.N. has called for hybrid courts to investigate atrocities in Sri Lanka and South Sudan and is gathering evidence of the Myanmar military's persecution of the Rohingya for possible genocide prosecutions; any new war-crimes court would almost certainly study what happened in Cambodia.

But the court's shortcomings shouldn't "overshadow its significance," says Youk Chhang, director of DC-Cam, Cambodia's genocide-research institute. As a teenager, he survived a Khmer Rouge labor camp and saw his pregnant sister killed. "Leaders have to be held accountable," he says. The genocide conviction showed, at last, that "the rule of law triumphs." —ELI MEIXLER

ART

Return policy

President Emmanuel Macron said on Nov. 23 that France will return 26 works of art to Benin, 136 years after colonial forces took them. Here, more recent repatriations. —*George Steer*

ALASKAN RELICS
In May, Germany returned nine indigenous items taken from graves in southwest Alaska. The artifacts—brought to Berlin in the 1880s—include two broken masks, a child's cradle and a wooden idol.

INDIAN IDOLS
The Met in NYC announced in August an agreement with India to send back a 3rd century figure of a male deity and an 8th century statue of a Hindu goddess. The objects had been donated in 1986 and 2015 respectively.

BENIN BRONZES
In October, the British Museum agreed to lend part of a set of valuable bronze sculptures back to Nigeria. The British army plundered the bronzes in 1897 from Benin City, in what is now southern Nigeria.

PHILIPPE WOJAZER—REUTERS

synchrony

Saving is an ambition. Aim higher.

Looking to elevate your savings rates? Look no further than Synchrony Bank. We offer a product recognized as a NerdWallet Best Savings Account, supported by our Bankrate Safe & Sound® 5-Star Rating and highly rated customer service.* **It's banking in sync with you.**

12-MONTH CD

2.50% APY*

$2,000 minimum opening deposit

HIGH YIELD SAVINGS

2.05% APY*

no minimum balance

Visit us at **synchronybank.com** or call 1-800-753-6592.

* **Annual Percentage Yields (APYs)** are accurate as of 11/9/18 and subject to change at any time without notice. Fees may reduce earnings. Visit synchronybank.com for current rates, terms and account requirements. Offers apply to personal accounts only:
CDs: A minimum of $2,000 is required to open a CD and must be deposited in a single transaction. A penalty may be imposed for early withdrawals. After maturity, if you choose to roll over your CD, you will earn the base rate of interest in effect at that time.
HIGH YIELD SAVINGS: Rates are variable and subject to change any time without notice after the account is opened. No minimum opening deposit required.
AWARDS: ©2016, 2017, 2018 and TM, NerdWallet, Inc. All rights reserved. Bankrate Safe & Sound 5-Star Rating earned for 2014 through 2018.

© 2018 Synchrony Bank

Member FDIC

DIED
Magician and actor **Ricky Jay,** who was once called the world's "most gifted sleight-of-hand artist," on Nov. 24 at 72.

› **Stephen Hillenburg,** the marine-biology teacher who created the *SpongeBob SquarePants* children's show, on Nov. 26 at 57. He announced last year that he had Lou Gehrig's disease.

› **José Peralta,** the first Dominican American elected to the New York state senate, on Nov. 22 at 47, after a brief illness. Peralta, who represented part of Queens, lost his re-election bid in September.

ELECTED
Kristine Guillaume, as the first black woman to lead the *Harvard Crimson,* one of America's oldest college newspapers.

DEPARTED
The first of 8,300 **Cuban doctors, from Brazil,** after their government ordered them to return home when Brazil's far-right President-elect Jair Bolsonaro said he'd change a program that let them serve poor areas there.

STRANDED
A group of **145 pilot whales,** on a New Zealand beach. Half of the whales were dead by the time authorities found them on Nov. 24, and the other half had to be put down.

DEMANDED
That **Google stop building a self-censoring search engine** for China, by hundreds of employees in a Nov. 27 open letter.

Bertolucci, pictured in 1988, was the filmmaker behind masterful epics like The Last Emperor *and* The Conformist

DIED

Bernardo Bertolucci
Uncompromising, unsettling artist

IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE THERE COULD EVER BE ANOTHER FILMmaker as big and bold, as willing to take thematic and visual risks, as Bernardo Bertolucci, who died on Nov. 26 at 77. He wove meaning and beauty into the fabric of a movie, and the results were a cloth of gold. His career was a grand, extravagant sweep—one freighted with its share of controversy.

Last Tango in Paris, the filmmaker's most famous and most infamous film, is both great and problematic. Marlon Brando and Maria Schneider play strangers who embark on an affair that exposes how humans use sex to erase the self. For years after its 1972 release, even people who wouldn't go near it heard about the rape sequence that is the story's turning point; before she died in 2011, Schneider revealed that she'd gotten details about the scene only right before it was filmed. Her account resurfaced in 2016, garnering further attention because of an old clip of Bertolucci saying he'd sought to capture her humiliation "as a girl, not as an actress." This new information—that an actor's onscreen suffering is, for a few moments, real—can't help but change how we see the scene. But even on first viewing, a movie sometimes demands that we juggle multiple ideas. *Last Tango* is a bracing exploration of the dark corners of ourselves. We need art like that, to reckon with life's messiness. How on earth are we supposed to get through it otherwise? —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

DIED

Nicolas Roeg
Daring director
By Anjelica Huston

NICOLAS ROEG WAS UNLIKE anyone else, and a genius at what he did. A lot of directors leave you to your own devices, but when we worked together on *The Witches,* Nic—who died at 90 on Nov. 23—knew exactly what he wanted. It hadn't occurred to me that a witch in a children's movie should be sexy. Nic's attitude was "Whyever not?" An adult who could dream like a child, he had no tolerance for propriety and dull stuff like that.

And I always remember his encouragement. I had hellish makeup that took six hours to put on, and once after a long day in latex filming a very wordy scene, I was stressed and starting to lose the lines. Nic showed me something to do with the wig where I twirled it into a tail; it was so great that I forgot my paranoia. Nic was ebullient. He kept shouting, "We did it! We broke the back of that one! We won the war!" At one point I thought, *Is he ever going to stop?* But that was Nic. He brought such excitement to everything he did. Working with him, you knew it was you and him against the world, and he was such a fantastic conspirator.

Huston is an Oscar-winning actor

BERTOLUCCI: MONDARONI PORTFOLIO/GETTY IMAGES; ROEG: BARRY MARSDEN—CAMERA PRESS

SAVE LIVES NOW

JOIN THE BATTLE AGAINST CANCER TODAY

MARVEL STUDIOS' AVENGERS: INFINITY WAR IS TEAMING UP WITH STAND UP TO CANCER AND AMERICAN AIRLINES TO FACE THEIR MOST POWERFUL ENEMY YET.
YOU TOO CAN JOIN THE FIGHT BY FUNDING CANCER RESEARCH THAT HELPS SAVE LIVES NOW.

VISIT STANDUPTOCANCER.ORG
TO JOIN THE BATTLE AGAINST CANCER AND TO LEARN MORE.

PICTURED: MEMBERS OF MARVEL STUDIOS' AVENGERS ALONG WITH CANCER FIGHTERS DR. PHIL SHARP AND AMERICAN AIRLINES TEAM MEMBER, SHANDRA FITZPATRICK.

American Airlines

STAND UP TO CANCER
10 YEARS OF IMPACT

MARVEL STUDIOS
AVENGERS INFINITY WAR

STAND UP TO CANCER IS A DIVISION OF THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY FOUNDATION, A 501(C)(3) CHARITABLE ORGANIZATION.
AMERICAN AIRLINES AND THE FLIGHT SYMBOL LOGO ARE MARKS OF AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC. © 2018 AMERICAN AIRLINES, INC. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.
AVENGERS: INFINITY WAR AVAILABLE NOW ON DIGITAL AND BLU-RAY.

He's under pressure from the G-20 and the IMF, but Argentine President **Mauricio Macri** is used to tight spots

By Karl Vick

THE TOPIC IS ACCOMMODATIONS, SPECIFICALLY the midtown Manhattan hotel where the President of Argentina finds himself for the United Nations General Assembly, a few blocks away. His shrug says the Langham is perfectly adequate, hardly a fleabag at $645 a night. But it's not where Mauricio Macri would be staying if he were not President.

"The Regency," he says, with a small smile and a distant look. "Or the Plaza, beside Central Park."

The scion of an Italian-Argentine tycoon, Macri spent his first three decades living in luxury. He studied civil engineering, with an eye toward a career in business. His first marriage was to the daughter of a race-car driver and his second to a model. But in 1991, when he was 32, a group of rogue police officers kidnapped him, bundled him into a coffin and held him in a 3-by-3-m room for two weeks until his family paid a multimillion-dollar ransom.

"That changed my view of life," Macri, now 59, tells TIME in a hotel meeting room, empty but for an Argentine flag. "It was like I was born again. I decided to do something more than running the family business and earning more money."

That "something more" turned out to be politics, a word historically synonymous with populism in Argentina. The country has been dominated for decades by the legacy of Juan Perón, though his second wife Eva, known as "Evita," remains better known, thanks to the Broadway musical. The economic nationalism known as Peronism was grounded in emotion—"The masses don't think," Juan said, "the masses feel"—and embraced by successors including another husband-and-wife team, Nestor and Cristina Kirchner, who held office, consecutively, for 12 years before Macri's ascension to the Casa Rosada in 2015.

But Macri, who served as mayor of Buenos Aires for eight years, narrowly won by running as an avowed capitalist, a pragmatic businessman with the connections and know-how to restore the nation of 45 million to solvency after defaulting repeatedly on international loans. Three years in, his track record is mixed: Argentina can borrow now, but its biggest lender is once again the International Monetary Fund, which in September rode to the rescue of a plummeting peso (valued at less than half of what it started at against the dollar this year) and double-digit inflation (currently running at 45%).

MACRI QUICK FACTS

Pope pal
Francis was archbishop in Buenos Aires when Macri was mayor; both fought to reduce drug use and poverty. Says Macri, "Now he's dealing with global and celestial matters."

Beautiful game
Macri long managed the fabled Boca Juniors, calling soccer "an incredible way to communicate."

Bad cops
Two months after Macri's kidnapping, a spat over splitting the ransom exposed crooked police as the culprits.

The Argentine public's relationship with the IMF is long and tortured, and the loans' austerity provisions spell trouble for Macri. Unveiling new austerity measures on Sept. 3, he admitted the previous months had been the worst since his kidnapping. "This is not just another crisis," he said on television. "It has to be the last."

MACRI IS RANGY, with eyes the blue of that Argentine flag. But when we meet, he is feeling worn down by meeting after meeting conducted in English. He speaks it well after stints at Columbia Business School and Wharton, but "it takes some time to begin thinking in English again," he says.

He will get more practice when the leaders of 20 of the world's largest economies convene in Buenos Aires on Nov. 30 and Dec. 1. No longer the lovefest it was when globalism went unchallenged, a G-20 meeting now pulses with the uncertainty that follows Donald Trump into any gathering. Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman is slated to attend, as is Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who shared with other leaders the audio of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi's gruesome murder in the Saudis' Istanbul consulate.

To that minefield add the new peril of hosting, as Justin Trudeau experienced in June. At the close of the apparently successful G-7 meeting in Quebec, Trump took offense at a seemingly routine speech by the Canadian Prime Minister, called him "dishonest and weak" in a tweet from Air Force One and pulled the U.S. out of the group's joint communiqué.

"Things have been quite smooth and reasonable so far," Macri says, in late September, referring to the Buenos Aires communiqué. "Even in the commerce chapter: I talk about the importance of guaranteeing multilateralism in trade. That was quite good," he says, "taking into consideration what's going on between China and the United States." Trade wars are not, after all, what globalists are supposed to do.

For Latin American leaders, it's rarely easy sharing the western hemisphere with the U.S., given Washington's history of interfering in sovereign states. But it's even more difficult under Trump, who has sharpened points of contention his predecessors had sanded down. His Administration resumed hostility toward Cuba, widely admired in Latin America for standing up to Uncle Sam. Trump has also threatened Venezuela with a "military option," playing into the hands of President Nicolás Maduro, who often claims the U.S. is conspiring against him.

Asked if Trump's sabre-rattling is helpful, Macri shakes his head. "We are trying to find other ways to stop what is going on in Venezuela," he says. There's real pressure. As the Caracas regime collapses, its hungry citizens are flooding the continent: according to the U.N., 3 million have fled so far. Colombia

EITAN ABRAMOVICH—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

has absorbed 1 million, and distant Argentina 130,000. Their magnanimity stands in sharp contrast to the U.S. response to Central American migrants. "We really believe that they are facing the worst of the dictatorship," Macri says of the Venezuelans. "We can open our country to host them."

THE ARGENTINE PRESIDENT is up for re-election in 2019, and though the Senate approved his budget plan in November, his approval ratings are still near their lowest point thus far. Nevertheless, he seems convinced Argentina will buck the international wave that has brought populism to a long list of nations—the U.S., the Philippines, Poland, Hungary, Brazil—just as Argentina has abandoned it. "It started there, and now it's going around the world," he says. During his campaign just three years ago, he unveiled a statue of Perón. But Macri says his country has learned the distinction between social justice and indiscipline. "Argentines understood populism is like going to a party, drinking as much as possible. But there is a day after. So now we are convinced we need to bet again on the culture of work."

'Populism is like drinking as much as possible. But there is a day after.'

MAURICIO MACRI, President of Argentina

For all their differences, Trump and Macri share considerable parallels. Both had millionaire builder fathers. Both have married three times. Both miss the Plaza (though only Trump owned it). And both enjoy performing, albeit not in the same way. The Argentine fancies himself a singer—specializing in Freddie Mercury. At his 2010 wedding to his current wife, the businesswoman Juliana Awada, Macri dressed up as the Queen front man, sporting a plastic mustache, then swallowed it during his rendition of "Somebody to Love." He tried to keep singing but promptly collapsed. The consensus among the guests who rushed to help was that rather than trying to force it up by Heimlich, he should try to send it down. "They started making me drink, drink, drink," Macri says, "and it didn't work." He took a few bites of bread, then water, and the way cleared.

Macri tells the story with enthusiasm, happy to be talking about something besides populism and the perils of the peso. "Tragedy plus time equals comedy," he says, and brightens, realizing that another near-death experience has placed things in perspective. ◻

ADVERTISEMENT

★★★★★

"The quality of their watches is equal to many that can go for ten times the price or more."

— Jeff from McKinney, TX

"Blue face watches are on the discerning gentleman's 'watch list'."
– watchtime.com

Stone Cold Fox

So good-looking...heads will turn. So unbelievably-priced...jaws will drop.

Every once in a while a timepiece comes along that's so incredibly good looking, masterfully equipped and jaw-droppingly priced, that it stops us stone cold. A watch that can take you seamlessly from the 18th hole to the board room. A watch that blurs the line betweens sports watch and dress watch. We're talking the ***Blue Stone Chronograph***, and it sits at the top of the discerning gentleman's watch list.

Striking in appearance and fully equipped with features, this is a watch of substance. The ***Blue Stone*** merges the durability of steel with the precision of crystal movement that's accurate to 0.2 seconds a day. Both an analog and digital watch, the ***Blue Stone*** keeps time with pinpoint accuracy in two time zones.

The watch's handsome steel blue dial seamlessly blends an analog watch face with a stylish digital display. It's a stopwatch, calendar, and alarm. Plus, the ***Blue Stone*** resists water up to 30 meters, making it up for water adventures.

A watch with these features would easily cost you thousands if you shopped big names. But overcharging to justify an inflated brand name makes us blue in the face. Which is why we make superior looking and performing timepieces priced to please. Decades of experience in engineering enables Stauer to put quality on your wrist and keep your money in your pocket.

Your satisfaction is 100% guaranteed. Experience the ***Blue Stone Chronograph*** for 30 days. If you're not convinced you got excellence for less, send it back for a refund of the item price.

Time is running out. Originally priced at $395, the ***Blue Stone Chronograph*** was already generating buzz among watch connoisseurs, but with the price slashed to **$69**, we can't guarantee this limited-edition timepiece will last. So, call today!

TAKE 83% OFF INSTANTLY!

When you use your OFFER CODE

Stauer Blue Stone Chronograph non-offer code price ~~$395~~†

Offer Code Price **$69** + S&P **Save $326**

You must use the offer code to get our special price.

1-800-333-2045

Your Offer Code: BSW323-01

Please use this code when you order to receive your discount.

Stauer®
14101 Southcross Drive W.,
Ste. 155, Dept. BSW323-01
Burnsville, Minnesota 55337
www.stauer.com

Rating of A+

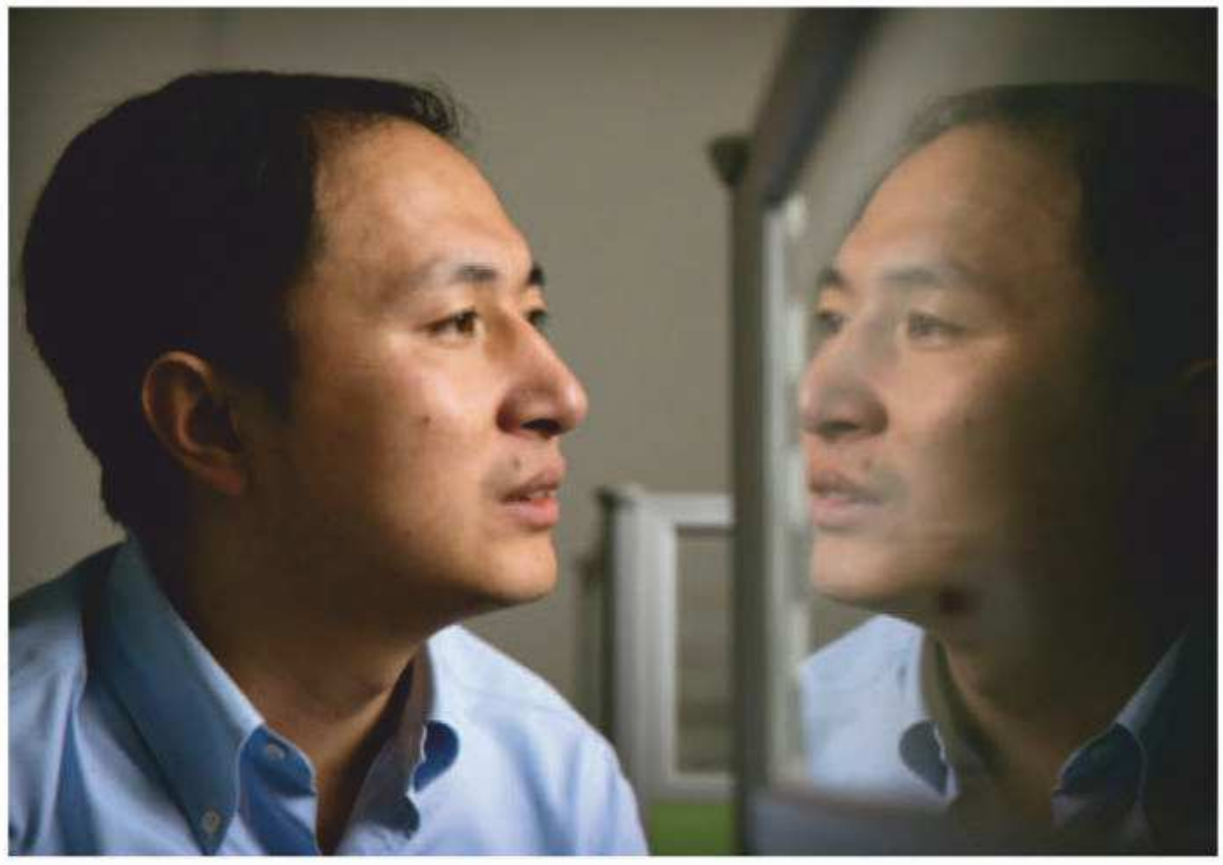
† Special price only for customers using the offer code versus the price on Stauer.com without your offer code.

• Precision movement • Digital and analog timekeeping • LED subdials • Stainless steel crown, caseback & bracelet • Dual time zone feature • Stopwatch • Alarm feature • Calendar: month, day, & date • Water resistant to 3 ATM • Fits wrists 7" to 9"

Stauer...Afford the Extraordinary.™

Babies born with edited DNA stun genetics world

By Alice Park



He Jiankui has rattled the genetics world with his "rogue" experiments

IN A SLICK VIDEO RELEASED ON Nov. 25, Chinese scientist He Jiankui dropped a scientific doozy on the world. He claimed, and further explained in an interview with a journalist, that his work had produced the world's first human babies whose genomes had been edited using the technique called CRISPR. The twin girls, born a few weeks ago, harbor genetic changes that are supposed to make them resistant to HIV infection. And they may not be alone; He said another woman is pregnant with a potential third baby with CRISPR-altered genes and that he has edited more than a dozen additional embryos that remain frozen.

Those embryos will stay that way for the near future, awaiting the outcome of an investigation by Chinese authorities on the legality and ethics of He's study, which is currently on hold. And that investigation is just part of the major backlash He faces. Because he published on YouTube rather than in a scientific journal, his claims haven't been properly validated. Both the university where He is on the faculty (and has been on leave since February) and the hospital where the births occurred denied even knowing his controversial study was taking place.

Even more important, nearly all leading genetics experts believe CRISPR—a tool developed in 2012 through which a DNA-protein complex can seek out and remove specific DNA sequences—is not yet safe for use in humans. International scientific groups specifically prohibit the use of CRISPR to alter DNA in human embryos that would be implanted for birth, which is exactly what He did. Appearing at a major genetics conference in Hong Kong in the days after his announcement, He faced skepticism, and worse, from scandalized colleagues who called his experiment "irresponsible" and "reckless." Harvard Medical School dean Dr. George Daley said He crossed a scientific and ethical line, and warned that scientists who "go rogue" jeopardize legitimate CRISPR research efforts to find new treatments for life-threatening diseases.

WHAT CONCERNS EXPERTS is that as precise as CRISPR is, it can still make mistakes. Its edits can be incomplete or, like an overzealous autocorrect feature, can cause unintended changes in random parts of the genome. That's particularly worrisome when it comes to cells that, once tweaked, pass those changes on to the next generation: eggs, sperm and embryos like the ones He worked on.

Researchers in the U.S. and the U.K. have edited human embryo DNA for research purposes only—in other words, those embryos were not transferred to become pregnancies—and most experts currently support research into CRISPR's uses only in cells that don't get passed on. "I'm in favor of a moratorium on implantation of edited embryos until we have come up with a thoughtful set of safety requirements first," says one of CRISPR's co-discoverers, Feng Zhang, of the Broad Institute of MIT and Harvard.

'I'm in favor of a moratorium ... until we have a thoughtful set of safety requirements.'

FENG ZHANG,
co-discoverer of CRISPR

The U.S.'s National Academy of Sciences concluded last year that CRISPR could *someday* be used on human embryos—but only under strict oversight and only to treat diseases that can't otherwise be addressed. Neither condition was met in He's study. He recruited couples in which the father was HIV-positive. In their IVF-produced embryos, he then altered a gene to hamper HIV's ability to infect cells. But the fathers were on anti-HIV drugs, so it was unlikely they'd pass on the virus anyway, and there's evidence that the gene alteration He used can make people more susceptible to West Nile virus as well as possibly the flu. The upside of editing—if it worked—was minimal compared with the potential risk. "If there is no benefit, then they have no business doing this," says Dr. Kiran Musunuru, a genetics expert at the University of Pennsylvania.

He says he plans to follow the twins until they are 18 years old. Apart from his scientific questions, those years will raise far more profound ones for society, as the first people born with genomes edited not by chance but by science grow into adulthood. Navigating those unknowns is a burden the twins will carry for the rest of their lives, along with their controversial history-making DNA. ☐

MARK SCHIEFELBEIN—AP/SHUTTERSTOCK

LightBox

Over and out

A group of Central American migrants near the El Chaparral crossing in Tijuana climb the fence between Mexico and the U.S. on Nov. 25, a day of turmoil at the border. As migrants fleeing violence and poverty neared a crossing leading to San Diego, some tried to bypass a barricade. The crowd, including young children, was met with tear gas, which U.S. Customs and Border Protection says was a response to rocks thrown at agents. American authorities then closed a crossing for several hours—a move that President Trump threatened to make permanent.

Photograph by Pedro Pardo—AFP/Getty Images

For more of our best photography, visit time.com/lightbox

If a security company makes you sign a contract, who are they really protecting?

Nobody likes a home security contract.
They're just a sneaky way for security companies to keep your business.
Lock you in for years. SimpliSafe protects your home 24/7 without the contract.
It's just common sense. No cotracts means we don't get paid unless you're happy.
Exactly the way it should be. Try it out.

SimpliSafe™

Get SimpliSafe's exclusive holiday offer
at **SimpliSafe.com/time**

TheView

WORLD

BEFORE RUSSIA GROWS BOLDER

By James Stavridis

Had anybody ever heard of the Sea of Azov? It is a very shallow body of water, not even the size of Lake Michigan, tucked away in a northern corner of the far larger Black Sea. Recently, it became the site of a dramatic conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which could signal escalating trouble ahead.

INSIDE

THE COMPETITION TO REPLACE ANGELA MERKEL

WHY AMERICANS SHOULD SUPPORT BREXIT

THE EXPANDING DEFINITION OF EXERCISE

On Nov. 25, Russian warships there carrying Spetsnaz—the equivalent of U.S. Navy SEALS—seized two Ukrainian gunboats and a tug, wounding half a dozen sailors, the Ukrainian navy has reported. The Russians impounded the sovereign warships and detained more than 20 sailors, and a Kremlin spokesperson has told state media that they are investigating the supposed Ukrainian incursion into their claimed territorial waters.

All of this flows from the Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2014. This led to the illegal annexation of the Crimean Peninsula, which comprises much of the southwestern edge of the Sea of Azov, and the ongoing occupation of southeastern Ukraine by rebel forces supported by Russian troops and special forces. To truly consolidate Crimea, Russia needs totally secure communications from the Russian mainland to the peninsula. The best way to accomplish that is to control the highly strategic Kerch Strait, the narrow waterway between the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

For the Trump Administration, though, this will be another testing point in its notably odd relationship with Russia. The President's team (especially Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis, National Security Adviser John Bolton and outgoing U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley) has taken a strong stand against Russian bad behavior. The U.S. has correctly led the imposition of economic sanctions that have had a serious impact on the Russian economy. It has also been a vocal critic of Russia's repeated violations of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, as well as the Russian military's dangerous operational practices against NATO warships and jets. Yet before, during and after the President's disastrous midsummer Helsinki press conference beside Vladimir Putin, Trump himself has given Russia a pass. This dissonance must end—but with tact.

Putin may be calculating that, with the Mueller investigation in the U.S. coming to a head, the President and his team will be preoccupied as the holiday season beckons. Regardless, Trump would be best served by addressing the ongoing conflict strongly—and without provoking a blunt U.S.-Russia dispute. It is time Trump leaned on our allies, letting them share the burden.

RUSSIA'S BEHAVIOR in Ukraine is illegal under international law. Among the several things that the President must make clear to Putin—both in private and in public—is that the annexation of Crimea is a crime, and that sanctions will continue until Russia modifies its stance. He must help force Putin to work with the international community, particularly NATO, to resolve the situation.

This pressure must include the U.S. supporting Ukraine with capable defensive armament. The Obama Administration dithered unnecessarily on this, and the Trump national-security team has, appropriately, been stronger. America should also, through NATO, train and advise Ukrainian forces.

Even more so, NATO-Ukraine cooperation is key and can provide a reassuring sounding board for the Ukrainians, who are understandably moving toward a war footing. President Petro Poroshenko successfully declared martial law for 30 days and has energized his defense establishment. This gives us all the more reason to make NATO the centerpiece. It is in no one's interest to stumble backward into a full-blown Cold War, let alone have an actual war inside Ukraine, which is too large, important and nationalistic to be bullied further.

So many wars have begun with seemingly small actions at sea, where decisionmakers do not react appropriately because they incorrectly assume the stakes are lower because land territory isn't immediately involved. The lesson of the Gulf of Tonkin is unfortunately instructive here. Nobody had heard of that body of water either—until it pulled the U.S. into the Vietnam War.

Admiral Stavridis (ret.) was the 16th Supreme Allied Commander at NATO and is an operating executive at the Carlyle Group

SHORT READS

Highlights from stories on **time.com/ideas**

Loved ones, in a new light

For most of photographer Pat Martin's life, addiction divided his family. But as they've reunited, he has found that **creating a family photo album helped ease past pain.** He told TIME's Julia Zorthian, "I can look at these images and they show me a different side of things."

When the U.S. sought a king

In 1786, the president of the Continental Congress **invited a Prussian prince to lead America,** recounts Richard Hurowitz. But he declined, believing the citizens would not accept a new monarch. Hurowitz says the U.S. would do well to remember those early lessons.

Making new friends when you're older

As he grew into middle age, Ross McCammon, author of the book *Works Well With Others,* found that he'd experienced a "de-friending" especially common among men. He's since changed that, and offers advice: **"If you're doing an activity with other men and you're not talking about the activity, then what you have there is friendship."**

THE RISK REPORT

The race to succeed Merkel will also determine who leads Europe

By Ian Bremmer

OVER THE PAST DECADE, Europe has faced two existential turning points: a sovereign debt crisis triggered by the 2008–09 U.S. financial market meltdown and the surge in migrants that followed the Arab Spring and the Syrian civil war. It's hard to imagine how either might have been managed without German Chancellor Angela Merkel. She faced her share of (sometimes deserved) criticism along the way. But Merkel's toughness, resilience and endurance helped hold the European Union together through these unprecedented challenges.

Yet her political moment is nearing an end. Merkel's bailouts for financially vulnerable countries like Greece, and especially her decision to open Germany's borders to more than 1 million refugees, have eroded her popularity at home. After a series of disappointing election results for Merkel's center-right Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party, she has pledged not to run for Chancellor in 2021. Now there is a hotly contested election on Dec. 7–8 to replace her as leader of the CDU. Whoever wins will likely lead Germany next.

Merkel's chosen successor is Annegret Kramp-Karrenbauer, known as AKK, a candidate who mirrors Merkel's pragmatism and her rejection of any CDU drift toward right-wing populism. The other lead contender is the more conservative Friedrich Merz, a surprise candidate and former Merkel rival who is returning to politics after almost a decade in the private sector. His distance from the political compromises of the past 10 years might help explain his recent surge in national opinion polls. In that sense, the choice between AKK and Merz is a party referendum on Merkel's performance.

AKK, the pollsters' favorite, has two important advantages. First is the Chancellor's backing; few should underestimate Merkel's ability to rally support within the party. AKK's second advantage is that she has no centrist rival. Merz must compete for the party's conservative wing with Health Minister Jens Spahn, the party's best-known Merkel critic. So far, polls haven't been kind to Spahn, perhaps because Merz is the much fresher face.

AKK and Merz have both signaled that they accept that Merkel will remain Chancellor until the next scheduled federal election, in 2021. But that's much more likely if AKK wins. A victory for Merz signals a new direction for the CDU, and Merkel could step aside. In addition, it's hard to imagine that the unapologetically pro-business Merz would continue with the grand coalition Merkel has formed with the center-left Social Democratic Party (SDP)—or that the SPD would want to remain in that partnership indefinitely. That might well mean an early election.

Whatever happens when CDU delegates vote for a new leader, the sound of political page turning will be heard across Europe

Whatever happens when CDU delegates vote, the sound of Germany's political page turning will be heard across Europe. When France elected Emmanuel Macron President in the spring of 2017, E.U. boosters hoped Macron would partner with Merkel to strengthen European institutions. President Donald Trump's often hostile attitude toward the E.U. seemed destined to bolster bonds.

But Macron now has a 26% approval rating in his own country and faces a wave of protests that forces him to focus mainly on domestic headaches. And Merkel's time as Chancellor has now reached its twilight. Can Kramp-Karrenbauer or Merz match Merkel's formidable political talent at handling the European crises yet to come? The answer will matter far beyond Germany's borders. ◻

DIPLOMACY

Brexit will bring U.K. closer to U.S.

By Liam Fox

The relationship between Britain and the U.S. has been "special" for many years. But Brexit will give us a once-in-a-generation opportunity to raise it to a new level. Once the U.K. leaves the E.U. on March 29, we will able to set an independent trade policy covering all aspects of goods and services. And among our first priorities is a deal with the U.S.

With our shared history and mutual economic interests, we are in a position to set the global benchmark for how two leading, open and mature economies can trade with each other.

We can revolutionize the rules on the digital economy. We can unleash the economic power of data flowing freely across borders. We can lead the world on emerging technologies like AI and the Internet of Things—tackling together the new challenges and sharing the rewards they present. Soon, we will have the chance to show how we can liberalize trade in goods and services, and boost consumer choice without diluting standards.

Trade can be, and should be, a win-win. It spreads prosperity, which leads to social cohesion, which in turn underpins political stability and collective security. In all these objectives, the U.S. will find no firmer ally than the U.K.

Fox is the U.K. Secretary of State for International Trade

LONGEVITY

When it comes to exercise, every movement counts

By Jamie Ducharme

FOR MANY, THE PHRASE *PHYSICAL ACTIVITY* conjures sweaty runs or powerlifting sessions at the gym. But the latest federal guidelines support a much broader definition of what it means to be active: one that includes less obvious pursuits like taking the stairs, raking leaves and even bird-watching. This subtle shift in messaging may even help Americans live longer, experts say.

The new federal physical-activity guidelines were updated in November for the first time since 2008, and they still urge adults to do 75 minutes of vigorous (or 150 minutes of moderate) aerobic activity each week, plus muscle-strengthening sessions like weight lifting or yoga twice a week. But only 23% of Americans do so, and a recent study found that a quarter of American adults sit for more than eight hours per day. The addition of a simpler imperative to the guidelines—"move more and sit less," no matter what form that movement takes or how long it lasts—may make people more likely to meet them.

If more Americans follow that credo, they stand to gain significant health benefits, including longer lives. Recent research suggests that activities you'd never think of as exercise, like running errands and cleaning the bathroom, still have longevity perks. In a study of older women published last year in the *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society,* each 30-minute chunk of light activities like these was linked to a 12% lower risk of dying early compared with more sedentary peers. And a 2018 study found that among older men, each additional half hour of light physical activity, such as walking or gardening, slashed their risk of early death by 17%.

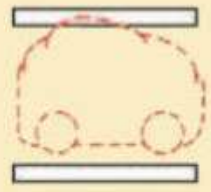
THAT EVERY MOVEMENT COUNTS may be the message Americans need to hear to get more active, says Jack Raglin, a professor of kinesiology at the Indiana University Bloomington School of Public Health. "The fitness industry tends to keep people focused on the standard modes of activity, but it can be a big hurdle to go to a gym or to join a class, especially if you are older, not fit or overweight," Raglin says. "You want something that's convenient and not too hard for most people, and that you can do any time or place."

Even things like standing on the subway or walking while you talk on the phone, rather than sitting down, can have an impact, says Jacque Crockford, a certified personal trainer with the American Council on Exercise. Studies show that these easy activities—known scientifically as non-exercise activity thermogenesis, or NEAT—are associated with lower body weight, better overall health and increased life span. "It's important to recognize the difference between planned exercise and just being active," Crockford says. "We put a lot of weight on the exercise part, rather than thinking of it as, 'I'll just move my body.'"

Of course, formal exercise will get you to the goalpost faster, and vigorous exercise often brings the biggest health benefits, at least for young, healthy people. But even if you don't move enough to meet the federal recommendations, any progress toward them likely corresponds to better health, says Michael LaMonte, a research associate professor of epidemiology and environmental health at the University at Buffalo, and one of the authors of the recent study touting the benefits of cleaning and running errands. "Don't put a time scale on it; don't put an intensity on it," LaMonte says. "We need to go back to the old days, when movement was a way of life." □

6 EASY WAYS TO MOVE MORE

Be a homebody
You don't need to leave the house to get in meaningful movement. Cleaning, making household repairs, raking leaves and even cooking a meal count as physical activity.



Park far away
Walking is linked to health benefits like lower body weight and blood pressure, better mental health and a longer life, so rack up extra steps by choosing a distant spot.

Go dancing
Dancing can burn up to 300 calories every half hour, and research has linked it to an increase in white matter in the brains of older adults, which tends to degrade with age.

Explore the outdoors
Gardening, nature walks and bird-watching all come with built-in movement. (Birds, unlike humans, don't sit around much.) Just being outside brings other benefits too, like stress relief.

Tote your groceries
You don't need to lift dumbbells to work out your arms. Everyday weight-bearing tasks—like lugging a gallon of milk from the car to the kitchen—can strengthen bones and muscles.

Ditch the car
If you have a short commute, leave traffic behind and sneak in exercise with person-powered transport. Think bikes, scooters and your own two feet.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JACKIE FERRENTINO FOR TIME

Understanding **Medicare Part D** isn't your full-time job. It's ours.

We've teamed up with eHealth, whose helpful team of licensed insurance brokers can provide advice tailored to your specific prescription needs and help find a plan with the lowest costs to you.

Talk to a licensed insurance broker today at 844-280-1944 TTY: 711 for FREE advice.*

Walgreens Trusted since 1901™

*No obligation to enroll. Monday to Friday from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m. EST.

Seven parents of seven dead students. From left: Pamela Wright-Young, Melissa Willey, Andrew Pollack, Darshell Scott, Tom Mauser, Nicole Hockley and Darrell Scott

Nation

UNITED BY GRIEF

Parents who lose a child to a school shooting discover a bond that transcends ideology

BY HALEY SWEETLAND EDWARDS AND BELINDA LUSCOMBE

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ADAM FERGUSON FOR TIME

MITCHELL DWORET AND MELISSA WILley have never met and don't have much in common. Dworet, whom everyone calls Mitch, is an outgoing real estate agent from a busy part of Florida; Willey is a reserved stay-at-home mother of nine from a small town in southern Maryland. But one thing unites them: both had kids on a high school swim team, and now both of those kids are dead.

Dworet's 17-year-old son Nicholas was killed during the shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., in February. Soon after, some parents of other children who had been victims of gun violence contacted Dworet, offering him support, guidance and understanding. A month later, 1,000 miles north in Maryland, Willey's daughter Jaelynn, 16, was shot to death by a fellow student at Great Mills High School. When Dworet heard about it, he contacted Willey on Facebook. "I felt like I should reach out," he says. "I wanted to pay it forward."

An invisible network of similar threads connects hundreds of grieving parents across America. The connection is not formal. There is no organizational structure, no listserv, no roster of names. But their bond is strong enough that they often describe themselves—glibly but also in earnest—as "the club." There is only one criterion for membership: you sent a child to school one day and then never saw them again because of a bullet, leaving you with pain, loss and perhaps even other shattered children. "It's a club you spend your whole life hoping you won't ever become a part of," says Nicole Hockley, whose son Dylan, 6, was killed in the December 2012 shooting at Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut. "But once you're in, you're in."

Hockley learned quickly what being part of that community can mean. Just a month after Dylan's death, a group of parents and survivors of other school shootings flocked to her small town to show their support for a foundation she was launching in honor of the kids killed at Sandy Hook. In the crowd was a stranger named Tom Mauser, whose 15-year-old son Daniel was killed at Columbine High School in 1999. He flew from Colorado just to be there. Bob Weiss, whose daughter Veronika was shot dead along with five others near her campus at the University of California, Santa Barbara, in 2014, has a phone full of numbers of bereaved parents. They text each other on the anniversaries of their children's deaths. "I would consider them some of my closest friends," Weiss says.

This web of wounded souls spans America. They come from rural outposts and big cities, from Democratic strongholds and the reddest regions of Trump Country. They have different religions, income levels and ethnicities. What they share is the agony that comes with losing a child to gun violence in a place where that child was supposed to be safe. That calamity creates ineffable bonds. Even family and friends "can never fully, fully understand," says Annika Dworet, Mitch's wife. "So you feel a special connection with other parents who have gone through this." Joe Samaha, whose 18-year-old daughter Reema was shot to death at Virginia Tech in 2007, agrees: "We understand the pain, the trauma and the long-term aftermath. It's a brother- and sisterhood."

The network is sustained in part by its tragically ever expanding size. A recent 15-day period brought the killing of a 16-year-old by a fellow classmate in a crowded morning hallway at David W. Butler High School in North Carolina; the murder of 12 people on "College Night" at the Borderline Bar and Grill in Thousand Oaks, Calif.; and the fatal shooting

of a student outside Lamar High School in Texas. The reality of gun violence in America is that there are always more dead kids. There are always more devastated families. "There are constantly more people becoming part of this fraternity nobody wants to join," says Mary Kay Mace, whose daughter Ryanne, 19, was shot and killed in 2008 along with four other students at Northern Illinois University.

But there's another way this league of parents stands out. In a country riven by partisanship, the relationships between those whose children have been taken by bullets transcend the rancor. "When you've gone through this kind of tragedy with other people, you see their humanity, where they're coming from," says Darrell Scott, whose 17-year-old daughter Rachel was killed at Columbine. That doesn't mean they all share similar politics, or see eye to eye on gun-control measures, or even that they all like each other. Rhonda Hart, whose daughter was killed in May in Santa Fe, Texas, has her differences with the other afflicted families in her conservative community when it comes to solutions to the epidemic of gun violence. "Their idea of change is not exactly my idea, and it's better not to talk about it," says Hart. "But we check on each other and our other kiddos." There's a similar dynamic among those whose youngsters died at Sandy Hook. "I'm not saying everyone always gets along," says Hockley of the mourning Newtown families. "But ultimately, we have respect for each other as people. And that's huge. You really can't overstate how huge that is."

THE FIRST THING a parent who has lost a child in a school shooting usually asks another is this: How old was your kid? Many regard the amount of time they had with their child as a defining feature of their relationship, both invaluable and finite. They will never get more of it. Every month that passes, every birthday, every hollow milestone, is imbued with painful significance. So they ask one another:

How old was your kid? It's a way of establishing what each parent has lost. Did your boy grow to be as tall as you? Did you get to teach your girl to drive? Was your child old enough to write a Mother's Day card?

People who lose children in mass school shootings also compare procedural notes. Hart, who lost her daughter at Santa Fe, found she had a lot in common with Parkland parents she met. "They asked, 'At what point did you know what was going on? Was it when they sat you in the little room? Was it when they ordered pizza? Was it when the FBI person came in?' We realized that our experiences were the same." School shootings have become so common, says Hart, "that they have the response down to exact science. 'Who's ordering the pizza?' There's a protocol."

For many members of the club, the discovery of a child's death is not the hardest part. In the beginning, the tragedy is so intense, it's incomprehensible, they say. One mother, whose son was killed at Sandy Hook, remembers hearing the news and rejecting it. *No, not my kid. Must be some kind of mistake.* Others recall their legs going weak or spontaneously vomiting. Some say they floated into a kind of out-of-body detachment, like a kite snapped at the string.

The days and the months that follow a child's murder can resemble a kind of fugue state. Many find themselves slipping back into old routines, designed around a child who is no longer there. One father tells TIME that for weeks after his son was killed, he set his alarm and left the house at 7:30, even though the school drop-off was no longer necessary. Another mom still catches herself reaching for her daughter's small hand before crossing the street. It took months for Hockley to stop calling Dylan to dinner. Pamela Wright-Young, whose 17-year-old son Tyrone Lawson was shot to death outside a high school basketball game in Chicago in 2013, had to consciously break her habit of walking sleepily to his bedroom to wake him up. "Something in you stops when your child dies," she says.

Mass shootings make headlines. They draw TV trucks and reporters and FBI investigations. But that attention cuts both ways, says Sandy Phillips, whose 24-year-old daughter Jessi was shot with 11 others at a cinema in Aurora, Colo., in 2012. "When you lose a child violently and publicly, there's an outpouring of support at first," she says. But that attention fades. "Once the vigils are over and the media is gone, that's when things get really bad. The world moves on, and you don't. You can't. It's a pain you can't outrun."

More than half of those interviewed for this story described a permanent, profound loss of self after their child's death. "I used to have a good life, a blessed life, but it's ruined now," says Andrew Pollack, whose 18-year-old daughter Meadow was killed in Parkland. "My kid is dead." Part of what makes it so hard is the manner and circumstance in which she was killed. "She didn't 'die.' She didn't 'pass away,'" says Pollack, his voice shaking with rage. "She was shot nine times at school. She was murdered."

Some say they are haunted by the chance involved in these twisted crimes. What if Reema Samaha had gotten into a different college? What if Wright-Young had forbidden her son from going to the game? Darshell Scott, a mom of five from Philadelphia, lives with the fact that her 17-year-old son Bernard, known as B.J., wasn't supposed to be at Overbrook High School on the day he was killed in 2013. B.J. had an unofficial suspension, but Scott called the school's vice principal to ask for a dispensation; her shift at work had changed, and she didn't want to leave him home alone. He was shot as

DARSHELL SCOTT
BERNARD, 17
OVERBROOK H.S.
PENNSYLVANIA
2013

he watched a fight that turned violent. "I beat myself up over that," says Scott, who adopted two daughters after B.J.'s death.

It's not uncommon for families to fall apart in the wake of such tragedies. Studies indicate that parents often become depressed and struggle with their marriages after a child's death. And kids who survive school shootings, when their siblings or classmates don't, are often later diagnosed with posttraumatic stress disorder. Hockley's older son Jake, who was in the third grade when Dylan was killed at Sandy Hook, is now 14 and still processing the violence he witnessed."People don't think about all the ways people's lives are forever transformed," says Hockley, whose marriage disintegrated after the massacre. "There's this huge ripple effect of violence and anger and dysfunction."

SINCE THEIR DAUGHTER'S murder, Sandy Phillips and her husband Lonnie have devoted themselves full time to the formidable task of helping survivors rebuild their lives. They sold almost everything they owned, moved into a mobile home and formed a nonprofit called Survivors Empowered. They now travel across the country responding to incidents of mass gun violence, working to connect families to networks and offering advice to the newly bereaved.

Some of the support the Phillipses offer is purely emotional, Sandy says. "We show up and look in these parents' eyes and basically say nothing except: We get it. We get it. You feel like dying, like you can't believe you're not already dead?" says Sandy. "I know that feeling. You're not alone." But much of the advice is what Sandy calls "a road map of what to expect." She and Lonnie advise about profiteers who descend after a school shooting to set up websites that purport to benefit children they've never met. They offer warnings about the conspiracy theorists and hoaxers who claim that anguished parents are "crisis actors," paid by gun-control organizations. "No one expects that kind of ugliness," says Sandy.

Some parents avoid the public debates that follow a tragedy. They don't want to talk to reporters or become advocates. But others say they have found solace in speaking out. Lori Alhadeff, whose 14-year-old daughter Alyssa was killed in Parkland, was elected to the Broward County school board in August after campaigning to improve school security. Mace was not initially outspoken about gun policy in the wake of her daughter's murder but decided to begin advocating for change a year later when 13 people died in a mass shooting in Binghamton, N.Y. "That punched through the fog" of her grief, she says. "I'd always thought that someone was going to do something about this, because we live in America and we're taxpayers and this is a civilized country. But I realized no one's stopping this. It's just going to keep happening and happening. And that's on us."

After his daughter was killed this year, Pollack was overcome by fury and frustration at officials' inaction. Why were school shootings still happening? "Why wasn't it fixed after Sandy Hook?" he says. "If we had fixed it back then, maybe my daughter would be alive."

The members of the club—like the citizens of the nation they live in—don't all agree on how to prevent gun violence in schools. Pollack believes the answer lies not in "endless discussions of gun control" but in expanding access to mental-health care and tightening school security. He has lobbied state legislators and school districts across the U.S. to provide metal detectors and hire trained security personnel. Darrell Scott, the Columbine father, and Scarlett Lewis, whose son Jesse,

6, was killed in his first-grade classroom at Sandy Hook, both advocate teaching children social-emotional skills, like empathy and compassion, in school. Willey suggests that mental-health screenings should be extended to every member of a household with guns.

Darshell Scott (no relation to Darrell) works at Saint Gabriel's Hall, a juvenile detention and rehabilitation facility near Philadelphia serving a population racked by poverty and stretched by the demands of low-wage jobs. She says stopping the epidemic of school shootings will require communities—families, neighbors, educators, congregation members—to work together. Three of the four young men indicted for her son B.J.'s murder came through Saint Gabriel's; she says she was a residential adviser to two of them. "They did their time and were released back into the community," she says. "There's nothing for the kids to believe in anymore."

Every year Scott gives a talk to the kids at Saint Gabriel's about what happened to her son and to the young men who brought guns they never intended to use to a fight that didn't have to take place. She passes around her son's autopsy and funeral photos. "I let them know: You could be one of the ones that's laid to rest," she says. "Or you could be one of the ones that's never going to see the outside of a prison door again."

Wright-Young lives in a Chicago neighborhood where gun violence is not uncommon. Her focus is on limiting access to those weapons. "I don't think that solves the whole problem," she says, "but if they don't have guns, they can't do as much damage." Hockley and Mauser are among the many others who are pushing for basic gun-control restrictions, including requiring adults to pass a background check before purchasing a gun and establishing a digital, centralized database so that those checks cross state lines.

PAMELA WRIGHT-YOUNG
TYRONE LAWSON, 17
MORGAN PARK H.S.
ILLINOIS
2013

DESPITE THEIR DISAGREEMENTS, this group conducts their gun debates differently from much of the rest of America. "I believe in banning assault weapons, and the next guy may not believe in any gun reform," says Mitch Dworet. "But I will never stand there and go at it with any parent." Pollack, who thinks gun reform is a lost cause, agrees. "There are parents here [in Parkland] who I'm friendly with and I don't agree with their agenda, but I give them a pass," he says. "I'm going to do what I'm going to do, and you're going to do what you're going to do, and the idea is to keep our kids safe." Hart, whose politics lean to the left of those of her fellow grieving Texans, echoes the point: "You do you, and I'm going to do me," she says.

Darrell Scott once testified before Congress that the National Rifle Association was not to blame for his daughter's death. He was heralded as a champion of the Second Amendment, but he's uncomfortable having his views simplified that way. "I'm not the same person I was," says Scott, whose desire to foster student kindness led him to start a foundation, Rachel's Promise. His neighbor and fellow Columbine parent Mauser is an outspoken critic of the NRA. But both prefer to focus on their shared convictions. Each of them, for example, supports the idea of keeping weapons, or access to weapons, from people with mental-health issues who might be a danger to themselves or others. "We have to stop thinking of this issue as one extreme vs. another extreme and you have to choose a team," says Mauser.

On a national level, there is more of a consensus on certain gun policies than the political debate suggests. Polling shows that Americans are overwhelmingly in favor of a handful of gun restrictions. According to a 2017 Gallup survey, 96%

KILLED AT SCHOOL

The government does not maintain a reliable database of all school shootings. To compile the figures below, TIME drew on data from Everytown, a gun-safety organization, but applied its own criteria. **The following represent attacks since December 2012 that have killed or injured at least one victim on a K-12 campus.** In all cases, the shooter or at least one victim was a student or teacher, and injuries resulted from gunfire. Lone suicides are excluded.

SHOOTINGS

57 Total

21 That caused at least one death

19 That caused at least one student death

VICTIMS

189 Total

112 Wounded

63 Students killed

14 Adults killed

LOCATIONS

41 High schools

6 Middle schools

9 Elementary schools

1 K-12 school

SOURCE: EVERYTOWN DATA, ANALYZED BY TIME STAFF

of Americans, including majorities of both Democrats and Republicans, support background checks for all gun sales. Three-fourths favor a 30-day mandatory waiting period before a potential owner is permitted to receive a gun, and another 70% believe that all privately owned guns should be registered with police.

Many of us, in other words, are like Sandy and Lonnie Phillips, who describe themselves as "Texas Republican gun owners" but believe in modest gun restrictions. "The hardest thing for anyone," Sandy says, "is to challenge their own belief system." Language is part of that battle. Hart learned from the students in Parkland to not use the politically freighted term *gun control*. Instead, she says, "I am for kids not dying from getting bullets in their bodies."

But for many of these folks, shaping the national gun debate is secondary to the work that needs to be done right away and for which they alone are suited: helping others through the crisis. Life hasn't paused for Willey; her second oldest, Jaelynn, is dead, but she has eight other children, ranging in age from nearly 2 to 17 years old. While dealing with her own sorrow and loss, she has to help her kids handle theirs. "The kids come first," she says, describing her coping strategy. "But I don't know if that's working."

In another part of the country, Mitch and Annika Dworet, whose younger son Alexander was wounded in the Parkland shooting, just endured their first Thanksgiving without Nicholas. "It's not really like we're thankful," says Mitch. "How could you be?" But in the midst of his mourning, he does what he can to support other struggling initiates of this burdensome, blighted club. In the past few months, he has kept an eye on Willey's Facebook page, placing hearts on the photos she regularly posts of her daughter. It's the slenderest of connections, and Willey is too grief-stricken to respond. But he wants to make sure she knows that Jaelynn, like his Nicholas, is not forgotten. ▯

World

The friendly face of Europe's new right

Chancellor Sebastian Kurz couldn't beat Austria's populist insurgents. So he offered them a seat at the table **By Simon Shuster/Vienna**

At 32, Kurz, photographed in October, is the youngest Chancellor in Austrian history

PHOTOGRAPH BY MARK PECKMEZIAN FOR TIME

HE MADE IT ALL APPEAR SO EASY. THE FEAR, THE hate, the insecurity in Europe started to seem like petty problems when Sebastian Kurz, the Chancellor of Austria, was on the stage in his hometown of Vienna, looking more like a class president in front of his high school reunion than a man who casts himself as Europe's last best hope.

It was Oct. 13, almost exactly a year since Kurz had won the elections in Austria at the age of 31, becoming the youngest Chancellor in the country's history, as well as the youngest democratic leader anywhere in the world. To mark the anniversary, he gathered a few hundred friends and fans in Vienna for a modest celebration. No music, no colored lights. Just the friendly new face of the European right, with a banner that read THE CHANGE HAS BEGUN.

The changes Kurz stands for were clear in his speech: harder borders and a tougher defense of Austria's national identity. As he put it to his audience that day, "Those who do not put clear limits on migration will soon start to feel like strangers in their own land." Such fears are changing Europe's political landscape. And Kurz, who leads Austria as it holds the rotating presidency of the European Union, has emerged as a champion of transformation (or as others might argue, regression).

From France and Germany to Italy and Sweden, parties that had ruled from the center for decades have been weakened and pushed aside by populists and demagogues who speak the language of division: nationalism against globalism, the patriots against the traitors, the people against the Establishment. It's the same language spoken by U.S. President Donald Trump, whose rise helped give these groups legitimacy and a sense of momentum.

For center-right conservatives like Kurz, the growth of the populist far right presented a dilemma: Should they co-opt the policies and tone of Trump and his fellow travelers, or risk being swept aside as stalwarts of the status quo? To put it more simply: Should they try to beat them or try to join them?

Kurz has made his choice. He formed a coalition government in 2017 with the populist and reactionary Freedom Party, bringing a movement that was founded by neo-Nazis back into a position of power. In Austria, the far right and the mainstream have merged during his tenure on the issues that trouble Europe the most, namely identity, Islam and immigration. The young Chancellor calls the union a democratic necessity. His critics say he has sanitized some of the most odious figures on the European right, and branded him the "Alpine Trump."

Inside the Trump Administration, some have taken notice. The U.S. President's ambassador to Germany, Richard Grenell, referred to Kurz as a "rock star" during an interview this summer with Breitbart News, adding, "I'm a big fan." As Trump's most loyal envoy in Europe, Grenell has pledged to "empower" European conservatives, holding the Austrian Chancellor up as an example.

But when TIME met him earlier this fall at his office in Vienna, Kurz couldn't have seemed further from the Trumpian stereotype. He arrived a mere two minutes late but, with a hand on his heart, apologized twice for the delay. He then poured me some sparkling water and wiped the glass clean with his palm. When we were finished talking, he offered to help carry the photographer's equipment to the car. That is his style, one of his advisers noted afterward. He is cordial. He is modest. He listens. Another adviser assured me that Kurz prefers to take commercial flights, usually in coach.

And unlike key figures on the far right in Europe like Italy's Matteo Salvini or France's Marine Le Pen, Kurz disdains comparisons to his U.S. counterpart. When I pointed out that Kurz's drink of choice—a Diet Coke—is also that of Trump, he paused and said with a smile, "Maybe I should make a change."

To many in Austria—and in Europe—it's too late for that. Florian Klenk, an influential Austrian newspaper editor, tells TIME the Chancellor's pact with Austria's far right has already opened the gates to barbarians. "Kurz likes to call himself a bridge builder.

PIROSCHKA VAN DE WOUW—POOL/EPA-EFE/SHUTTERSTOCK

Kurz, center, speaks to European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker and French President Emmanuel Macron at the start of a European Council summit in Brussels in October

But a bridge to what?" he asks over a plate of schnitzel in a Viennese café. "Do we need a bridge to neofascists? I'm not so sure."

KURZ HAS PRESENTED HIMSELF as a changemaker. But on paper at least, he looks like a traditional conservative. Born into Vienna's middle class, with a summer home in the countryside, he was still a teenager when he went to work at the conservative People's Party, one of the stodgier mainstays of Europe's establishment. His rise through the ranks of that party was so straightforward that his biographer, Paul Ronzheimer, took less than a month to write his life story. "It wasn't very complicated," he told me.

Appointed minister in charge of integrating migrants at the age of just 24, he soon built a reputation for toughness, verging on meanness, when it came to migrants from the Muslim world. Among his most famous initiatives was a call for imams to deliver their sermons in German. With legal amendments aimed at the Muslim community in Austria, his government banned foreign funding of Islamic organizations and shut down mosques linked to "political Islam."

These positions were so far to the right of center at the time that some leaders of his own party did not want to be photographed next to Kurz. But in 2015, when migrants and refugees from the Middle East surged into Europe, his hard-line views on immigration began to seem ahead of their time. Over the protests of the E.U. and the U.N., Kurz—by then Foreign Minister—reached a deal with Austria's neighbors in the Balkans to close the E.U.'s eastern borders to migrants and refugees. The move outraged German Chancellor Angela Merkel, who was then working on a separate deal with Turkey to stem the tide of refugees.

The plan worked, reducing the flood of arrivals to a relative trickle. But it was a disaster for E.U. solidarity. By closing the border between Greece and Macedonia, Kurz's plan left tens of thousands of migrants stranded in a squalid camp near the Greek village of Idomeni. The Prime Minister of Greece said his country was at risk of becoming "a warehouse of souls" unless his fellow E.U. leaders came to help. "When kids are born and old people die in the mud of Idomeni, that's the political work of Sebastian Kurz," said Michel Reimon, a member of the European Parliament from Austria's left-wing Green Party.

But in Austria's conservative countryside, the closing of the borders in the winter of 2016 made Kurz a national hero. "The closing of the Balkan route made Kurz a political star in Austria," Ronzheimer writes in his biography. "He enjoyed that role." He became the People's Party chairman in May 2017, and five months later the party finished first in legislative elections—allowing him at just 31 to become the youngest Chancellor in Austria's history. Yet despite his anti-immigration policies, progressives have not treated Kurz as a pariah—in July, Austria assumed the presidency of the European Union's council as planned, putting Kurz at the heart of liberal Europe. It seems the leadership in Brussels has broadly accepted Kurz as the lesser of competing evils.

That's likely because the alternative in Austria would be Kurz's coalition partner, the Freedom Party, which was founded by actual, unrepentant Nazis in the aftermath of World War II. As recently as the 1990s, its leader had defended veterans of the Nazi SS as "men of character" and praised Adolf Hitler for his "orderly" labor policies. (Hitler's regime used slave labor on an industrial scale.) Over the past year, the Freedom Party of Austria has been among the more extreme groups—and the most popular—to fill the seats of any parliament in Europe. Its presidential candidate, Norbert Hofer, narrowly lost the elections in 2016 with 46% of the vote. "He was like David against the Goliath of the system," says his political mentor, Heinz-Christian Strache, who has led the Freedom Party for over a decade.

Europe's liberals did express discomfort when Kurz forged a partnership with the Freedom Party in 2017. But they have rarely condemned him for it in public. Instead they have observed Kurz's experiment

in managing the radical right. He has let the Freedom Party govern alongside him, giving it the right to appoint the heads of six of Austria's 10 ministries, including those in charge of the police, the military, the intelligence services and the diplomatic corps.

One of the key concessions Kurz got in return was a promise from the Freedom Party not to call for Austria to leave the European Union—at least not in the next five years. This may explain why the E.U. reaction has been so much more muted than it was in 2000, when the Freedom Party was last allowed to govern under Jörg Haider, the son of Austrian Nazis who defended the Third Reich.

Back then the E.U. imposed sanctions against Austria in response. Israel withdrew its ambassador from Vienna that year, while the U.S. refused to talk to any Freedom Party members. Hundreds of thousands of protesters brought Austria's capital to a standstill for weeks that winter, forcing the then Chancellor to use underground tunnels to get to work. None of that happened this time around. "The Freedom Party has not changed. But the landscape has changed," says Joschka Fischer, who pushed for the E.U. to sanction Austria in 2000, when he was serving as Germany's Foreign Minister. "The far right is now on the rise in many, many places in Europe. That's just a fact."

The most pointed rebuke Kurz received in response, at least in public, may have been the recent one from Jean-Claude Juncker, one of the E.U.'s most senior officials, who visited Vienna on Oct. 4 to mark the centenary of the Austrian Republic. "When stupid populism and narrow-minded nationalism march toward the future," Juncker said, "one must get up and stop it while there is still time." It was a big applause line for the liberals in the audience. The Chancellor, seated in the front row, clapped along politely.

He knows isolating the far right has not proven to be a winning strategy elsewhere in Europe. As the far-right National Front came within reach of winning the French presidency last year, all of the country's political leaders pledged never to let it govern. Among them was Emmanuel Macron, who ended up winning the presidency in a landslide. But the National Front has recovered from that loss as it has in the past: by assailing the government's policies. One survey published in September had Macron's party neck and neck once again with the xenophobic National Front.

For Kurz, freezing out the Freedom Party was not an option. It was just too popular. "It was No. 1 in all the polls last year," the Chancellor says. "Everybody said they are going to win." But Kurz came from behind and, after the left-wing social democrats refused to govern with him in coalition, he felt it would be undemocratic to block out the Freedom Party, which had won more than a quarter of the popular vote. "Whether you like it or not, it's the people who decide," says Kurz.

> ***'Kurz likes to call himself a bridge builder. But a bridge to what?'***
> **FLORIAN KLENK,** an Austrian journalist

That logic seems sound, but it comes with a peculiar caveat in Austria, the homeland of Hitler, who also came to power through the ballot box. His Nazi Party won 37% of the vote in Germany in 1932, making it the largest party in the German parliament and paving the way for Hitler to rule by decree. Six years later, when Hitler's forces annexed Austria, they were received by cheering crowds of locals. Doesn't that history make Kurz wonder about the people's infallibility? It was the only question that made his mood go dark during our interview. "We should be careful with such comparisons," he says after a pause. "What we had back then was not a functioning democracy." In other words, it won't happen again.

But the neo-Nazi roots of the Freedom Party are still impossible to ignore for many of Austria's foreign allies. Chief among them is Israel, which refused to have any contacts with Strache even after he became the Vice Chancellor of Austria in Kurz's government at the end of last year. Israeli leaders have not forgotten that the Freedom Party's Haider "was an iconic figure in terms of anti-Semitism" during the 1990s, says Ehud Olmert, the former Prime Minister of Israel.

That history still haunts the party today. Weeks after Kurz formed his coalition government, a Nazi songbook was found in the former fraternity of a prominent figure in the Freedom Party. One song in the book made sickening light of the fact that 6 million Jews had been killed in the Holocaust, many of them in Nazi gas chambers. "Turn up the gas," says a line in the song. "We'll make it to 7 million."

Kurz, who usually avoids criticizing his coalition partners in public, did speak up about that scandal. He condemned the Nazi song and called for an investigation of the fraternity, which the government said would be dissolved. "I took a very clear position," Kurz says. But the affair did not stop the Chancellor from cementing his partnership with Strache.

To his relief, Israel agreed not to withdraw its ambassador from Vienna in response. Olmert, the former Prime Minister, says that was not an easy call. "We had to ask ourselves, 'Is it better to boycott Austria? Or is it more advantageous to take the Austrian Chancellor and to try and teach him?'" he tells TIME, noting with a smile that Kurz is younger than his youngest son. "If we can influence him, that I think is worth the effort."

THE IDEA THAT KURZ might be malleable rests on a dubious assumption: that he will be able to moderate his partners on the right, or at least control their darker instincts. His allies told me that was never his

CIGARS INTERNATIONAL

8 CIGARS only $10*

FIRST-CLASS PREMIUM CIGAR SAMPLER

Includes 1 each of: Hoyo de Monterrey • Macanudo • Villazon CAO • Arganese • HC Series • Bahia • Sancho Panza

$52 value

$5 UPGRADE

ADD A TRAVEL HUMIDOR

CRUSHPROOF | WATERPROOF | $30 VALUE

When it comes to cigars, no one even comes close to Cigars International and we're ready to prove it to 'ya with an outrageous intro offer: 8 premium handmade cigars for just $10.* Go ahead, price shop this one and prepare to be stunned. When you're ready, we're here waiting with the world's largest selection of premium handmade cigars at the planet's lowest prices, delivered fast and fresh. That's our guarantee.

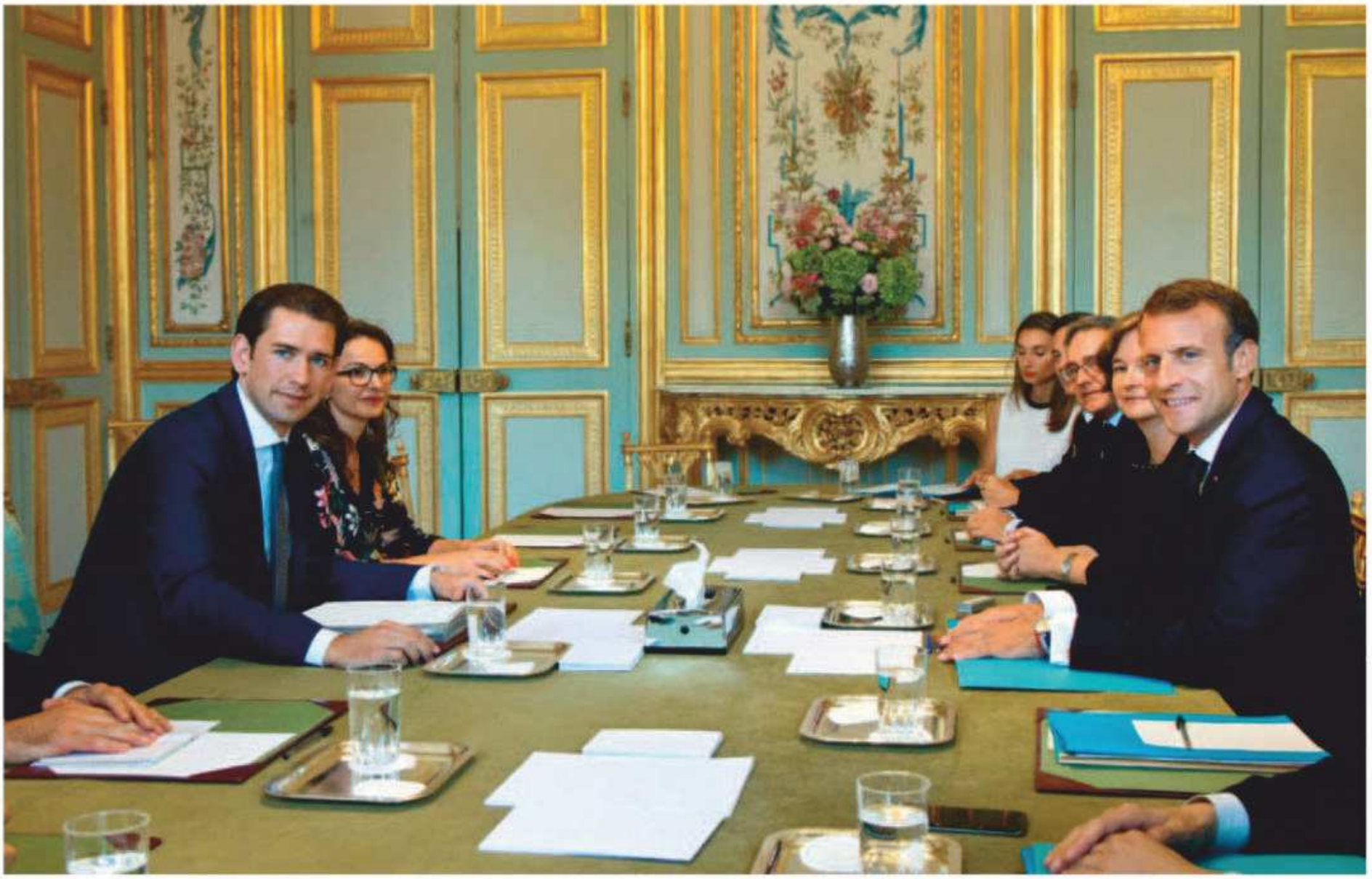
Visit: www.CigarsIntl.com/SA7450

Enter complete web address or search keyword: SA7450

1-888-244-2790 Mention code SA7450

Item #: CA49-SP

*Plus $2.99 s/h. Purchase may be subject to state or local sales tax where applicable. First-time purchasers only. One per customer. No sales to anyone under the age of 21. For more information see www.CigarsIntl.com/ageverify. Offer expires 1-31-19.



MICHEL EULER—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Kurz meets with Macron in Paris in September, days before a summit in part devoted to the issue of migration. While Macron has sought to isolate his far-right opponents, Kurz chose to bring them into his government

intention. "You don't enter into a coalition in order to change your partners," says Wolfgang Sobotka, the speaker of Austria's parliament and a leading figure in Kurz's party. "We are not pedagogues," he says.

Besides, the constant infighting among Austria's ruling parties is what drove so many voters to side with the far right in the first place, says Kurz. That's why he does his best to avoid public clashes with the Freedom Party. Across Europe, he says, far-right parties are getting stronger. "And I think the best answer is not to focus on these parties or to criticize the voters who vote for them. What we need are politicians in the center who do a good job."

Since taking power, the Chancellor has given the Freedom Party plenty of room to govern. With sweeping influence over law enforcement and the armed services, the party has sought to put its loyalists in key positions throughout the bureaucracy, or as one regional Freedom Party official put it in a speech this summer, "to steal a march through the institutions." Asked whether Kurz had done anything to rein in the Freedom Party, its co–general secretary, Christian Hafenecker, told me, "No one can control the Freedom Party." Its leaders have focused on their defining issue—tightening border security with a beefed-up police force and lots of fiery rhetoric against the threat from refugees—while leaving Kurz to focus on tough reforms of the labor code and the economy.

The Chancellor has, however, eroded the Freedom Party's base of support. His approval ratings have been climbing in the months since he took power, while the Freedom Party has been dropping in the polls. If that trend continues, some of his advisers worry that the far right could begin to lash out at the Chancellor in an effort to weaken him and seize more power.

For now, though, Kurz seems intent on keeping his bridge to the far right intact. He says that approach is grounded in history. In the speech he gave on Oct. 13 to mark the anniversary of his election victory, he tried to answer one of the hardest questions of Austria's past: Why was the country so quick to embrace fascism in the 1930s and to help the Nazis wage their genocidal war?

The reason, Kurz said, was polarization, the endless quarrels between the right wing and the left. "The opposing sides fought each other with more and more ferocity," he said, until their democracy "slipped into chaos." The way to avoid that, he said, is through an orderly political dialogue with all sides. Given the alternative, his liberal peers in Europe have little choice but to bite their tongues and hope that Kurz succeeds. ◻

ROSS ✦ SIMONS

fabulous jewelry & great prices for more than 65 years

Our pearl necklace is layered with elegance

We've suspended three sizable cultured pearls from three polished sterling chains to bring you this clean, minimalist design. A fresh and modern way to add the elegance of pearls.

$69

Plus Free Shipping

Cultured Pearl Three-Layer Necklace

18" length. Three 9-9.5mm cultured freshwater pearls.
Sterling silver box chain with springring clasp.
Shown slightly larger for detail.

Ross-Simons Item **#870331**

To receive this special offer, use offer code: **LUSTER237**

1.800.556.7376 or visit ross-simons.com/luster

secret's OUT

An iconic lingerie brand created the impossible ideal for what's sexy.

Now some women are moving on

By AMY ODELL

PHOTOGRAPH BY EDGAR HERBST

Supermodel and Victoria's Secret Angel Heidi Klum walks the brand's renowned fashion show in Cannes, France, in 2000

Picture a young Candice Bergen look-alike—gorgeous and sophisticated—lounging in a dim, velvety boudoir. She lives in London, where she runs her own design studio. She's in her 30s and globe-trots. She has the accent of her English father, and her life is informed by the lavish trips she took as a child with her French mother to Paris, Milan and New York City.

This is Victoria, the imaginary creator of Victoria's Secret. At least as corporate employees have been told over the years to envision her: a worldly woman who loves lingerie and is passionate about helping women feel sexy. Customers may not know her backstory, but they should be drawn to her glamour as they walk through the stores. She's the reason for that sultry British accent in the brand's commercials.

As unattainable as that life seems, the company's public ideal may be even more out of reach. Victoria has for decades been embodied by the Angels, an elite group of contracted supermodels who have helped define the American ideal of sexiness. Their come-hither glances and sculpted bodies—which hardly vary in size and shape—have successfully seduced millions of women into turning to Victoria's Secret by default when they need a new bra. Those anointed—a group that includes Heidi Klum, Tyra Banks and Gisele Bündchen—are among the most famous models and women in the world, recognizable to many by their first names alone.

For a long time, playing on these two fantasies—being as alluring as the brand's Angels and living a life of European luxury—resulted in fabulous success. Victoria's Secret counts 1,170 stores in the U.S. and Canada with an additional 460 in more than 70 countries around the world. It's the only retailer with its own fashion show on network television. During the height of its popularity, in the fiscal year that ended in January 2016, Victoria's Secret recorded more than $7.7 billion in sales, accounting for more than half of all revenue at its parent company L Brands, which also owns Bath & Body Works, among other brands. Just a few weeks earlier, L Brands' stock reached its all-time high of more than $100 a share.

Since then, however, Victoria's Secret has struggled. Sales have fallen. L Brands' stock has plunged below $40. On Nov. 19, the company announced it was cutting its annual dividend in half. And CEO Jan Singer recently stepped down after only two years on the job.

Perhaps the most important factor in this decline is the reality that the company's one-note definition of sexy is no longer shared by many American women. Of course, plenty are still interested in push-up bras and would love to have the abs of an Angel, and L Brands is hardly the only brick-and-mortar retailer to face headwinds in the era of online shopping. But as brands like Aerie, ThirdLove and Rihanna's Savage X Fenty move into the market, capitalizing on the sex appeal of all body types, Victoria's Secret finds itself an odd fit for lingerie's new feminist era. (Victoria's Secret declined to comment on a detailed list of questions from TIME.)

In an Instagram post in October, the model Robyn Lawley called for a boycott of the brand's fashion show until Victoria's Secret "commits to representing ALL women on stage." Meanwhile, Rihanna has drawn an explicit contrast between their brand and hers: "I'm not built like a Victoria's Secret girl," she told *Vogue* in a profile touting the launch of Savage X Fenty.

Roxanne Meyer, retail analyst at MKM Partners, calls L Brands founder and CEO Les Wexner a "visionary" but questions if he's setting up his company for future success. "Everything I've read that Les has said—and I'm assuming he's stuck by this—is he stands by his brand and what's sexy and that's what his customer wants," she said. "I do wonder, Do they see the potential for Victoria's Secret to evolve at all away from just pure sexy?"

Wexner, 81, has remained at the helm for decades, and L Brands' chief marketing officer, Ed Razek, 70, continues to be the key figure shaping the brand's image, even after recent comments brought a cascade of negative attention to the company. Backlash was swift in November after Razek, asked by *Vogue* about casting transgender models in the fashion show, said, "Shouldn't you have transsexuals in the show? No. No, I don't think we should. Well, why not? Because

PREVIOUS PAGES: 13 PHOTO/REDUX; THESE PAGES: DIMITRIOS KAMBOURIS—GETTY IMAGES

the show is a fantasy." Razek also said the brand had "looked at putting a plus-size model in the show" but always decided against it. (Razek later apologized for the comments and said the brand is open to casting transgender models.)

So when ABC airs this year's *Victoria's Secret Fashion Show* on Dec. 2, the event will likely look pretty much as it always has—like the unchanging Victoria. But while what you see on TV may reflect the vision of the men in charge, it's not necessarily one shared across the company. Former employees say that some internally have questioned the brand's devotion to Razek's view of "sexy" for years, even before profits started slipping.

"Their whole mentality of this girl seems a little bit outdated," said one former employee who worked on the brand's catalog in the early 2010s and who, like others interviewed for this story, requested anonymity for fear of career repercussions, "especially in today's climate where women have so much more of a voice and we don't want to be seen as sex symbols."

^ *Chief marketing officer Razek poses with models Rosie Huntington-Whiteley, Lily Aldridge and Candice Swanepoel in 2009*

IN 1977, a businessman named Roy Raymond opened the first Victoria's Secret store after feeling awkward buying lingerie for his wife in a department store. A handful of stores later, in 1982, Wexner bought Victoria's Secret for L Brands (known then as The Limited Inc.) for $1 million. Lee Peterson, executive vice president at retail consultancy WD Partners, remembers visiting one of the first Victoria's Secret stores in San Francisco just after the purchase.

"You went inside and it was like a boudoir … velvety and lush velvet curtains and all this—and I remember walking out of there like, *What the hell is he thinking?*" Peterson said.

At the time, there were few options for sexy, affordable lingerie. Frederick's of Hollywood had been around for decades but was seen by many consumers as too racy. Peterson, who ended up working for L Brands from 1980 to 1991 and considers Wexner a mentor, quickly understood the brand's potential as they started opening more stores. "They were on fire right from the get-go," he said. By 1986, just four years after it was acquired, Victoria's Secret had 100 stores doing $100 million in sales.

The modern Victoria's Secret was born when Razek joined the company in the mid-1980s. "He's low-filter, funny as hell, swears a lot," Peterson said. Razek decided the brand needed to own "sexy" and carefully controlled his vision.

In the late '90s he contracted Russell James, a fashion photographer who continues to shoot for the company. "I've worked with many brands over the years," James said. "Ed is probably the most hands-on." Razek personally calls photographers before they get to set, attends every major bra-launch shoot and often makes changes on the spot once he gets there. He is known to observe even small photo shoots to offer his opinion on the model. James, who still sometimes sends Razek test shots of new models for consideration, credits him with "an uncanny ability" to spot talent.

Razek still personally approves the casting of each Angel and is said to be extremely protective of these women, according to former employees. "I loved him," Bündchen said in a recent interview. Razek gave her a life-altering contract with Victoria's Secret in 1999, which provided 80% of her income by the time she left eight years later, and she remains in touch with him. Reporting backstage before one show years ago, I noticed Miranda Kerr, then an Angel, rising from her makeup chair to embrace Razek as soon as he entered the room.

When Ivan Bart, president of IMG Models and IMG Fashion Properties, first started sending models to be cast for the fashion show, even the idea of modeling lingerie on a runway was unusual. That's all changed. "I would say every model that comes to see us right now," he said, "the goal is to be on the Victoria's Secret runway." Added Maja Chiesi, an IMG senior vice president and one of the world's top modeling agents: "I don't think there's any other exposure on a runway that would probably ever compete with Victoria's Secret because you're on TV."

In 1999, Razek decided to use the still embryonic technology of video streaming to put the fashion show online. It was the Internet-breaking moment of its era. Some 1.5 million visitors attempted to tune in, but many had trouble as the huge audience overwhelmed the servers. In 2001, the show aired on ABC and Heidi Klum walked the runway as the show's star, her bosom barely contained by a multimillion-dollar diamond-encrusted "fantasy bra" that has become a staple of each show. Some 12.4 million viewers watched. By last year, with live TV viewing battered by streaming and Victoria's Secret's sales down, fewer than 5 million people watched.

'It was like a boudoir … I remember walking out of there like, *What the hell is he thinking?*'

LEE PETERSON, executive vice president, WD Partners, on an early Victoria's Secret store

"TOP 12 MARKETING RULES" is a list compiled by Razek that is well known in the Victoria's Secret marketing department. Razek has updated the copy over time, but the rules have remained mostly the same. In a recent version shared with TIME by a former employee, No. 11 reads: "Fall on your face, not on your ass."

"There's always a reason not to do something," it continues. "Not to change the sign pack, not to move to next, not to flip to the new photography … Marketing doesn't work that way. It's always about next, new, fresh … Always move forward, always be aggressive, always get to next. Your world will never be perfect. That's not a reason not to make it better now."

But former employees say there has never been much desire for change—perhaps because the formula seemed to work so well for so long. Under Sharen Jester Turney, who was CEO of Victoria's Secret from 2006 to 2016 after six years of overseeing direct sales, employees began pitching ways to evolve the Angels' image. Ideas included interviews with the models about their lives or shooting them without makeup. Some employees who were there at the time say Razek, who as chief marketing officer controlled the brand's visual direction, wasn't interested. "I remember him saying something like, 'No one cares about their voice, no one cares about the story, just keep it simple and sexy,'" one former employee who worked in the art department told TIME. A former employee who worked on copy agreed: "If you had a modern idea, you'd PowerPoint it, pitch it for a month. Then they'd say, 'We love this but we're going to do what we did last year.'" Turney declined to comment.

WEXNER: ASTRID STAWIARZ—GETTY IMAGES; KALLIO: RON GALELLA—WIREIMAGE; PERFUME: DESIREE NAVARRO—GETTY IMAGES

Selling sexy

Over four decades, Victoria's Secret has dominated the lingerie market by sticking to a tried-and-true branding strategy. But the company may face new challenges as the industry becomes more inclusive.

1977
Roy Raymond opens Victoria's Secret in Palo Alto, Calif. He grows the business and launches a catalog before selling it in 1982 for $1 million.

1986
Les Wexner, chairman of parent company The Limited, grows the chain to 100 locations, chipping away at department-store sales.

1993
The Miracle Bra, the company's line of push-up bras, debuts in stores and will go on to challenge competitors like Playtex's Wonderbra.

1995
Victoria's Secret kicks off its annual Fashion Show. Four years later, it streams live on the Internet. Ratings for the show have dropped dramatically in recent years.

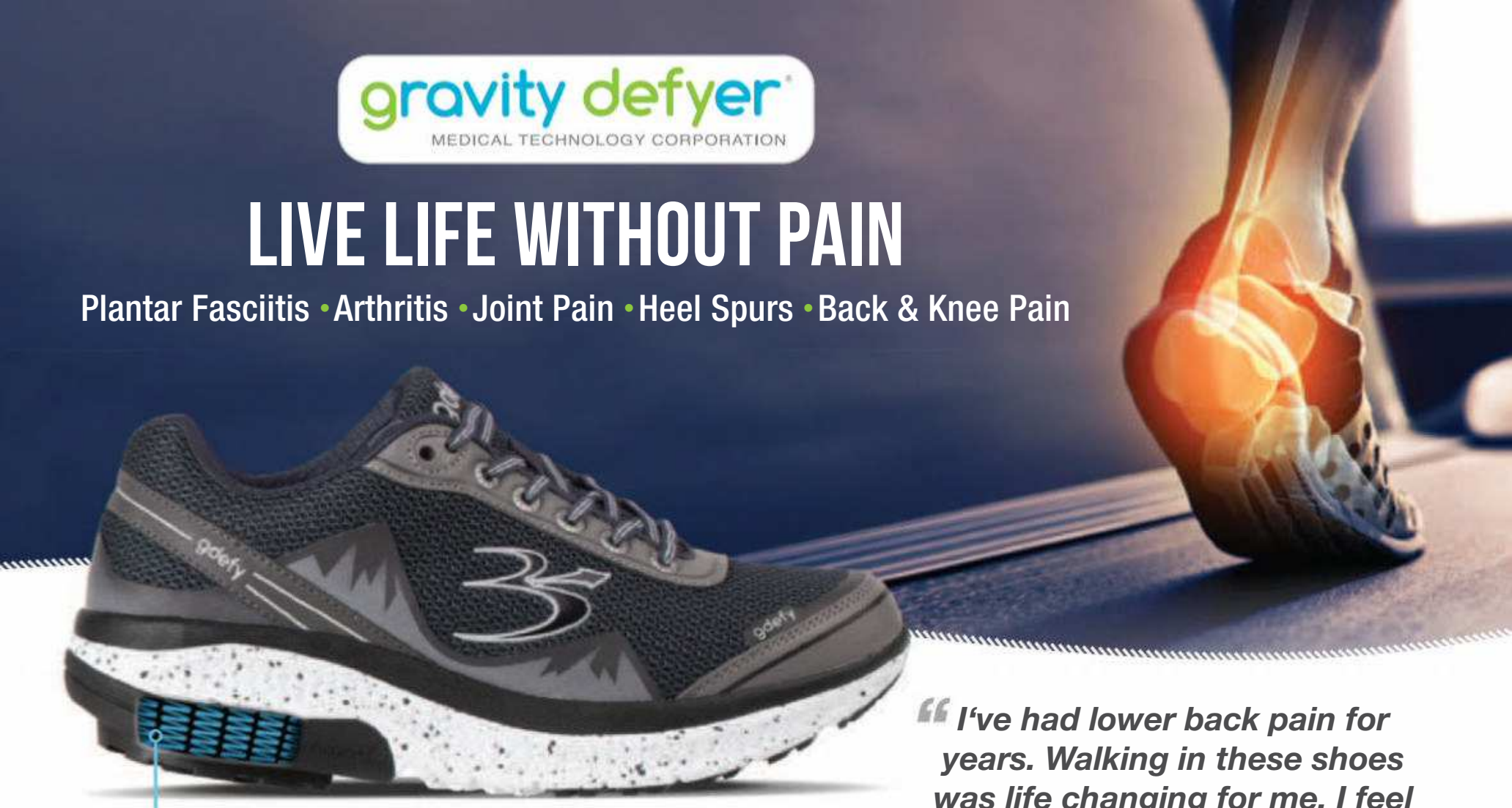
1996
Victoria's Secret builds out stand-alone retail stores to sell popular bath products and cosmetics.

Angelika Kallio in the 1995 debut show

gravity defyer
MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY CORPORATION

LIVE LIFE WITHOUT PAIN

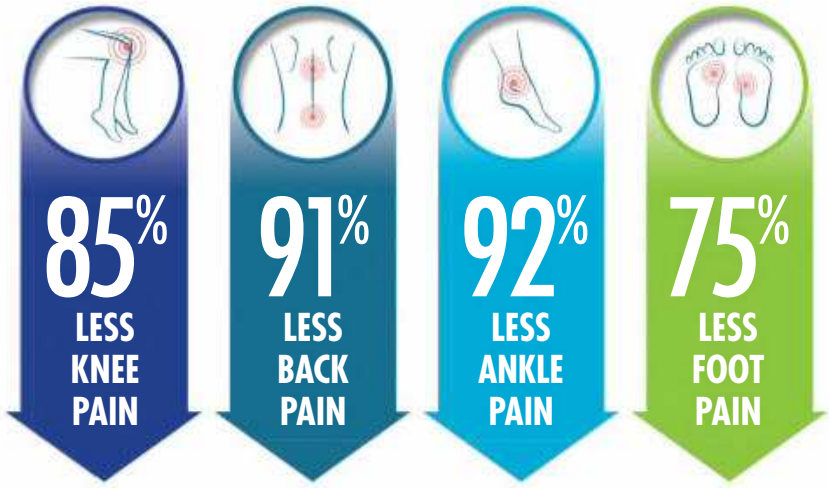
Plantar Fasciitis • Arthritis • Joint Pain • Heel Spurs • Back & Knee Pain



PATENTED VERSOSHOCK® SOLE
SHOCK ABSORPTION SYSTEM

"I've had lower back pain for years. Walking in these shoes was life changing for me. I feel like I'm walking on air."

– Bill F.



*Results of a double-blind study conducted by Olive View UCLA Medical Center.

Enjoy the benefits of exercise
with proven pain relief.

- Ultimate Comfort
- Renewed Energy
- Maximum Protection
- Improve Posture

G-DEFY MIGHTY WALK *$150*

X-WIDE WIDTH AVAILABLE

Men Sizes 7.5-15 M/W/XW

- Gray TB9024MGS
- Black/Blue TB9024MLU

Women Sizes 6-11 M/W/XW

- Gray TB9024FGS
- Gray/Salmon TB9024FGP

$30 OFF YOUR ORDER

Promo Code PP4MKJ7

www.gravitydefyer.com

Expires March 31, 2019

Free Exchanges • Free Returns

100% Satisfaction Guaranteed

Call 1(800) 429-0039

Gravity Defyer Corp.
10643 Glenoaks Blvd. Pacoima, CA 91331

A+ BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS

VersoShock® U.S Patent #US8,555,526 B2. This product has not been evaluated by the FDA. Not intended to treat, cure or prevent any disease. $30 off applies to orders of $100 or more for this limited time offer. 9% CA sales tax applies to orders in California. Shoes must be returned within 30 days in like-new condition for full refund or exchange. Credit card authorization required. See website for complete details.

The look of the Angels remained so consistent that even models with short hair were considered a departure. "When Karlie Kloss cut her hair, it was a big [moment]. Like, Oh my God," said a former senior-level employee. And different body types were not embraced by upper management, according to this employee. "They've never felt a large body is sexy."

During one meeting, according to the former art-department employee, Razek compared the models to "thoroughbreds" and said he follows them closely on Instagram to make sure that they're not being pushed too far by their agents because, like racehorses, you can't overwork them or they would get exhausted and not perform at their best. Victoria's Secret did not make Razek available for comment.

Then, in 2016, with the Victoria's Secret brand still raking in sales, came three big changes. First, Turney left abruptly in February of that year, citing a desire to focus on her family, and Wexner, the L Brands chairman and CEO, also took on the job of CEO of Victoria's Secret before appointing Jan Singer, formerly of Spanx, that June. (Singer did not return email requests for comment.) Second, Wexner decided to kill the iconic but costly Victoria's Secret catalog and restructure the company, laying off 200 people. And third, a month after the layoffs, Wexner cut the brand's swimwear, alienating some shoppers who were drawn into the stores for bathing suits and would pick up other products along the way. "We were making a lot of headway under Sharen," the former senior-level employee told me, "but I feel like it reverted back to where it was with the girls in the long hair."

> 'I remember him saying something like, "No one cares about their voice … just keep it simple and sexy."'
>
> A FORMER ART-DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEE

DESPITE THE PUBLIC CRITICISM and recent financial losses, L Brands remains a behemoth, accounting for 62.8% of total lingerie-industry revenue from U.S. brick-and-mortar sales, according to market-research firm IBISWorld. Aerie, for all of its buzz, accounts for just 3.5%, according to the IBISWorld estimates.

"They'll survive," said NPD retail analyst Marshal Cohen. While analysts criticized Victoria's Secret for missing the trend of unpadded bralettes, Jennifer Zuccarini, the founder of upscale lingerie line Fleur du Mal who worked in design at Victoria's Secret from 2008 to 2012, said she always put bralettes in the collection but they didn't sell. "They've trained their consumer to want a certain look," she said. "A more extreme underwire padded sort of thing." This gave Aerie an in, but Cohen said he doubts it will hurt Victoria's Secret in the long run. "Do I think we'll be talking in the near future about how they've done well on the rebound side?" he said. "I think give it some time and we will." Just this month, the brand announced on an earnings call that it will bring back swimwear in 2019.

What's more, the company is doing a lot of things right. People who have worked at Victoria's Secret cite generous salaries, a high proportion of women in leadership positions, and a talented workforce as perks. But to get all that, the former art-department employee said, you have to "swallow this really big pill": the brand's unapologetic objectification of women.

Some change seems inevitable, if only due to Razek's and Wexner's advancing ages. "Les can't be like 90 years old and pushing Victoria's Secret's bralette business," Peterson said. Next year, there will be a new Victoria's Secret CEO to replace Singer: Tory Burch president John Mehas. Which means the future of "sexy" is, once again, in the hands of a man. ◻

Tyra Banks dons angel wings in 1998

1997
The company launches its iconic Angels line. Winged supermodels appear in the Fashion Show the next year.

2004
The company introduces Pink, a casual brand aimed at college students.

2012
The first Victoria's Secret outside North America opens in London.

2016
The company closes the catalog. It also stops selling swimwear but now plans to bring it back in 2019.

Barbara Fialho in a swimsuit in 2012

2018
Chief marketing officer Ed Razek tells *Vogue* the brand won't cast a transgender model in its Fashion Show. (He later apologizes, walking back his comments.) Soon after, CEO Jan Singer steps down.

BANKS: RON GALELLA—WIREIMAGE; DOG: TIME; LONDON : BERETTA—SIMS/REX/SHUTTERSTOCK; FIALHO: JAMIE MCCARTHY—GETTY IMAGES

ADVANCED HEARING AID TECHNOLOGY

For Less Than $200

"This is truly a miracle... *I don't even know how to begin thanking you for giving me my life back!"*

— Sherri H., Granville, NY

How can a hearing aid that costs less than $200 be every bit as good as one that sells for $2,250 or more?

The answer: Although tremendous strides have been made in Advanced Hearing Aid Technology, those cost reductions have not been passed on to you. Until now...

MDHearingAid® uses the same kind of Advanced Hearing Aid Technology incorporated into hearing aids that cost thousands more at a small fraction of the price.

Over 300,000 satisfied **MDHearingAid** customers agree: High-quality, FDA-registered hearing aids don't have to cost a fortune. The fact is, you don't need to spend thousands for a hearing aid. **MDHearingAid** is a medical-grade hearing aid offering sophistication and high performance, and works right out of the box with no time-consuming "adjustment" appointments. You can contact a licensed hearing specialist conveniently online or by phone — even after your purchase at no cost. No other company provides such extensive support. Now that you know...why pay more?

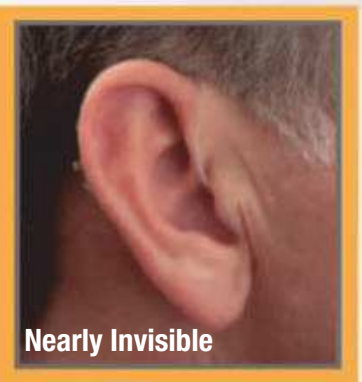
Can a Hearing Aid Delay or Prevent Alzheimer's and Dementia?

A study by the National Institute on Aging suggests older individuals with hearing loss are significantly more likely to develop Alzheimer's and dementia over time than those who retain their hearing. They suggest that an intervention — such as a hearing aid — could delay or prevent this by improving hearing!

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR

45-DAY RISK-FREE TRIAL!

Hearing is believing and we invite you to try this nearly invisible hearing aid with no annoying whistling or background noise for yourself. If you are not completely satisfied with your MDHearingAid, return it within 45 days for a **FULL REFUND.**



Nearly Invisible

BUY A PAIR AND SAVE.

BATTERIES INCLUDED!

READY TO USE RIGHT OUT OF THE BOX!

For the Lowest Price Call

1-800-745-8167

www.GetMDHearingAid200.com

Use Code **JB85**

and get **FREE** Batteries for 1 Year

Plus **FREE** Shipping

Proudly assembled in America!

MDHearingAid®

DOCTOR DESIGNED | AUDIOLOGIST TESTED | FDA REGISTERED

BBB ACCREDITED BUSINESS A+

A STRAIGHTFORWARD INCOME? INVEST IN HIGHWAYS.

Tax-free municipal bonds are issued by state and local governments to raise money for major infrastructure projects, such as local roads, hospitals and stadiums. Like any borrower, state and local governments pay interest to investors who hold the bonds. But, what sets them apart are two important investing benefits.

1. Potential Safety of Principal

When investing in municipal bonds, investors are paid back the full face value of their investment at maturity or earlier if called, unless the bond defaults. This is important because many investors, particularly those nearing retirement or in retirement, are concerned about protecting their principal. In June of 2017, Moody's published research that showed that rated investment grade municipal bonds had an average cumulative 10-year default rate of just 0.09% between 1970 and 2016.* That means while there is some risk of principal loss, investing in rated investment-grade municipal bonds can be an important part of your portfolio.

2. Potential Tax-Free Income

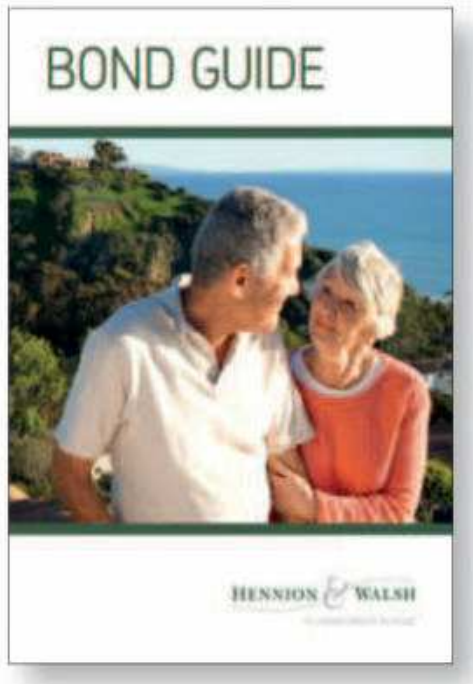
Income from municipal bonds is not subject to federal income tax and, depending on where you live, may also be exempt from state and local taxes. Tax-free income can be a big attraction for many investors.

About Hennion & Walsh

Since 1990 Hennion & Walsh has specialized in investment-grade tax-free municipal bonds. The company supervises over $3 billion in assets in over 16,000 accounts, providing individual investors with institutional quality service and personal attention.

Our FREE Gift To You

In case you want to know more about the benefits of tax-free Municipal Bonds, our specialists have created a helpful Bond Guide for investors. It's free and comes with no obligation whatsoever.



FREE Bond Guide
Without cost
or obligation
Call (800) 316-1846

HENNION & WALSH
It comes down to trust.®

© 2018 Hennion & Walsh Inc. Securities offered through Hennion & Walsh Inc. Member of FINRA, SIPC. Investing in bonds involves risk including possible loss of principal. Income may be subject to state, local or federal alternative minimum tax. When interest rates rise, bond prices fall, and when interest rates fall, bond prices rise. *Source: Moody's Investor Service, June 27, 2017 "US Municipal Bond Defaults and Recoveries", 1970–2016. Past performance is not a guarantee of future results.

Time Off

ROYAL PAINS
***The Favourite*, along with *Mary Queen of Scots*, paints a remarkable portrait of women in power**

INSIDE

THE MARVELOUS MRS. MAISEL
RETURNS FOR A SECOND SEASON

A NIGERIAN NOVEL ABOUT A SERIAL KILLER MAKES WAVES

GET FESTIVE WITH THIS YEAR'S SLATE OF HOLIDAY ALBUMS

MOVIES

Three queens to rule them all

By Stephanie Zacharek

Ronan, with guys in tow: her Mary, Queen of Scots, means business

SISTERHOOD IS POWERFUL, but friendships between women can be among the thorniest flowers on earth. We often stand together, and need to do so for survival. But women, like all human beings, have flaws and frailties that sometimes tip into the red zone of defensiveness or distrust. Envy takes root like a weed; competitiveness becomes a blood sport. The complications are even greater for ambitious women making their way in a world dominated by men. Is the woman in the next cubicle your ally or your secret enemy? And if she's the latter, can she somehow be turned into the former?

Long before any of us had careers to build or corporate ladders to climb, there were women trying to untangle these very questions—and *they* were ruling actual countries. This is the movie season not just of powerful women, but of women in power: *Mary Queen of Scots,* the film debut of theater director Josie Rourke, and *The Favourite,* from Greek director Yorgos Lanthimos, both give us women whose crowns, for one reason or another, do not rest easy on their heads.

In *Mary Queen of Scots,* Saoirse Ronan plays the ill-fated Queen, married to France's King Francis II until, as an 18-year-old widow, she came back to her home country. The movie begins with that return to Scotland, and Ronan's Mary—serene but resolute, with skin like a veil of morning mist—looks so at home in this rugged landscape that you wonder how she'd ever managed to leave it. Mary writes her cousin, the Queen of England, Elizabeth I (Margot Robbie), eager to forge a union and optimistic about the future: "Ruling side by side, we must do so in harmony, not through a treaty drafted by men lesser than ourselves."

'I am more man than woman now—the throne has made me so.'

QUEEN ELIZABETH I, as played by Margot Robbie, in *Mary Queen of Scots*

Around this time, roughly 1561, Elizabeth is still a young beauty: as Robbie plays her, with her frizzle of red hair, she's the picture of feminine confidence. She's less interested in producing an heir than in doing the day's work. Much later, her looks transformed by illness if not just by stress and worry, she'll utter a line that's piercing in its frankness: "I am more man than woman now—the throne has made me so."

In the early days, though, she's receptive to the idea of joining forces with her cousin, eager to see what the two might build. But the duo's early eagerness dissolves into suspicion once political forces on both sides—in other words, dudes, played by sturdy actors including Guy Pearce and Adrian Lester—start elbowing in on the action. You probably know how this story ends, but Rourke makes the getting-there suspenseful even so. And both Ronan and Robbie are superb: they have just one scene together, but their characters' dual isolation and increasing rancor, playing out in twin kingdoms so close to each other and yet so far, becomes a force of its own—a potential kinship that becomes a destructive fireball.

THERE'S FIRE of a different sort in *The Favourite,* a fantastic little cupcake of a movie laced with thistle frosting. Olivia Colman—perhaps best known for the British crime drama *Broadchurch*—gives a remarkable performance as a fictionalized version of Queen Anne, a lonely ruler who conceived at least 17 children and, in one way or another, lost them all. Now she's portly and dithery and suffers terrible leg pains that largely confine her to a wheelchair. She also dislikes dealing with politics and affairs of state, which makes her a prime target for the scheming Lady Sarah (Rachel Weisz, marvelous as always), whom she considers her closest friend. Sarah has her own ideas about the future of England and how its war against France should be waged, and she uses her friendship with the Queen to shape the course of events to her benefit. Meanwhile, the men of the court mill around uselessly, which at least gives the women the freedom to run the show.

The friendship between these two

PREVIOUS PAGE: ATSUSHI NISHIJIMA—20TH CENTURY FOX; THESE PAGES: FOCUS FEATURES, COLMAN: VITTORIO ZUNINO CELOTTO—GETTY IMAGES

women may be based on power games, but it's also a love affair. They're bound by carnality and tenderness, and their private moments are presented in a way that feels casually modern, never sensationalistic or tawdry. Yet that bond is tested when Sarah's comely cousin Abigail (Emma Stone, in a fine, saucy-sharp performance) arrives at court. She's meek and polite on the surface but a schemer at heart. Still, she wins Sarah's favor with her cutting wit, and from there, with her strawberry-sunshine smile and alleged kindness, she proceeds to charm the Queen as well.

These three women circle one another warily, forming allegiances here and breaking bonds there. The humor is crisp and dry and sometimes bawdy, though there are moments of cutting sadness too. For all the pleasures it offers, *The Favourite* isn't an easygoing story about women learning to trust one another. Rather, it's about what it means to earn, if not to deserve, another's love—and to miss it when it's gone.

HOW DO MEN fit into all of this? They almost don't, unless they're stepping in to stir up trouble. In both pictures, men are secondary; it's the women who strive to keep order or at least just sanity, either within the court or between neighboring kingdoms.

These are feisty, clever films; they're gorgeous to look at, and both are loosely factual, though not slavishly so. Yet even if the stories they tell are rooted in the distant past, they're somehow perfect for the mood of late 2018. This has been a year of women fighting to be heard, understood and believed. Some men are already our allies, and we have to believe their numbers are increasing. But face it: some days, men just seem to be in the way. Both *Mary Queen of Scots* and *The Favourite,* as entertaining as they are, end in a place closer to despair than to triumph—not necessarily because the Queens in question rendered poor judgment, but because, in their treacherous worlds, it became impossible to know whom to trust. And, to put it bluntly, men didn't help. ◻

QUICK TALK

Olivia Colman

Hailed as a national treasure in Britain, Colman is emerging as a global star with two royal roles: first she stars as the tempestuous Queen Anne in The Favourite, *then next year, she will take over for Claire Foy as Queen Elizabeth II on Netflix's* The Crown.

Real royalty is rarely treated with irreverence. Did that attract you to *The Favourite*? I loved that the film was done with the proper sexual urges. Just because they have on different clothes doesn't mean they didn't love and lose and swear at each other, just as we do now.

What drew you to the role of Queen Anne? I loved that she had every emotion under the sun every five minutes. That's an actor's dream. She's spoiled, grieving, sensitive and cruel.

She is in a love triangle with two of her maids, each vying for power. Do you think she has any genuine relationships? I believe that Sarah Churchill was the love of her life, though she didn't necessarily realize that soon enough. Being in a position of power, you never know if people genuinely like you for you. That's why she loves her pet rabbits: they don't care who she is.

Queen Anne has a stroke midway through the film. Was that difficult to portray? It was quite a fun challenge making the left side of my face move as the right stays still. It's also an interesting moment for her. As the physical deteriorates, the mind sharpens. She's beginning to realize what's happening around her just as she couldn't be feeling worse.

Critics have praised the film for its feminism. I didn't think when I read the script, "These are powerful women." I don't know why. I just thought, "These are three interesting people."

Did playing Anne make you hesitate to play Elizabeth? Not at all. To me, they are completely different women. I was so obsessed with *The Crown* that I was incredibly uncool when it was suggested to me and just yelled, "Oh yes, please!"

You are taking over the role of Elizabeth from Claire Foy. Has her performance influenced you? I'm always thinking, "What would Claire do?" I've got to let that go a bit and make it my own. In one respect, playing Anne was much easier for me because I'm naturally an emotional person. If someone is sad, I burst into tears. So burying my emotions, as is Elizabeth's duty when in public, has been tricky.

Has playing two monarchs given you any insight into why we are obsessed with the royals' personal lives? Finding out real people live in those fairy-tale castles is eternally fascinating. And it still feels naughty, doesn't it? I'm pleased I'm not doing the seasons when they get to the young royals—that feels far too close to home. —ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

REVIEW

An earnest addiction drama stumbles

By Stephanie Zacharek

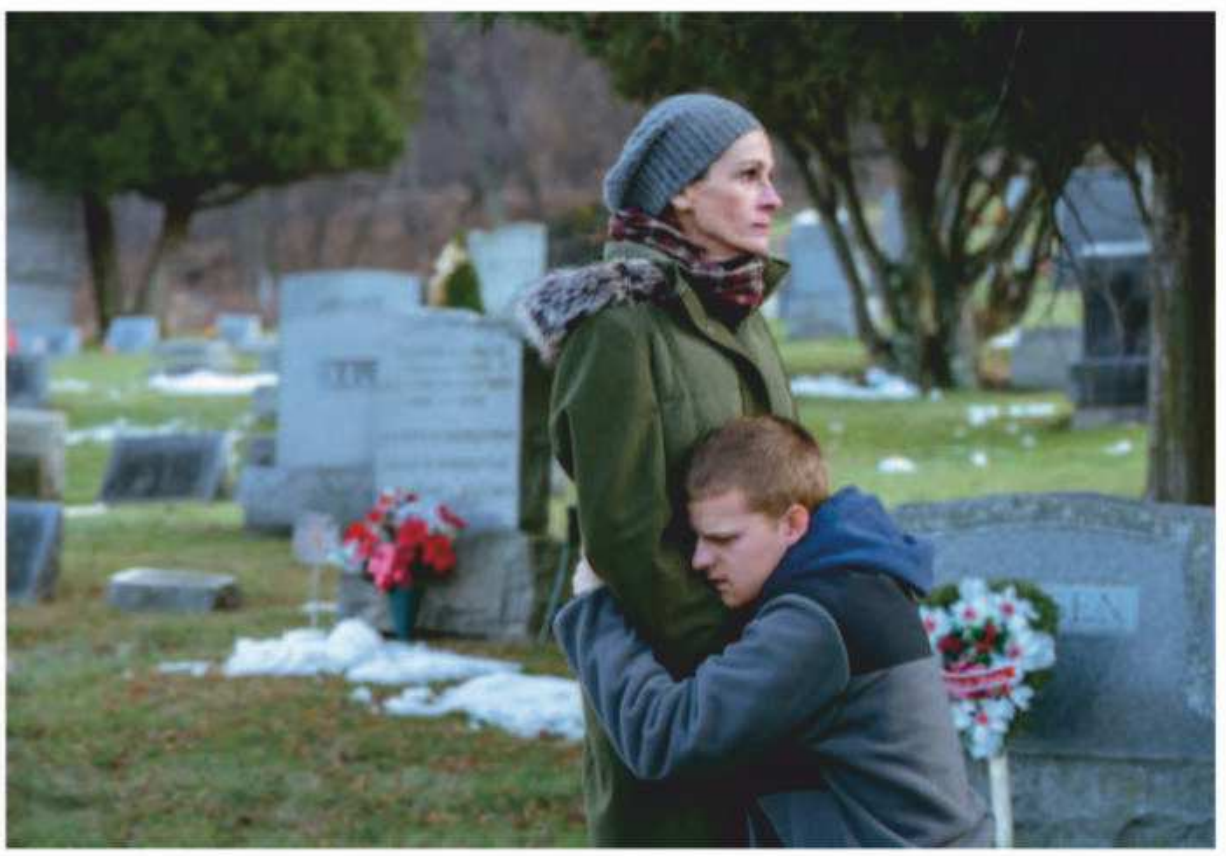
JULIA ROBERTS HAS ALWAYS BEEN irrefutably likable. I would dare even those who claim immunity to resist her most captivating feature: the way her eyes start smiling a few beats before her mouth has gotten the signal.

You see that smile only a few times in *Ben Is Back,* writer-director Peter Hedges' well-intentioned film about a young recovering heroin addict who sneaks away from his treatment center to spend Christmas with his family. Ben (Lucas Hedges, the director's son) is clearly not yet ready to get back to real life. Still, he's desperate to connect with his two much younger half siblings, the family dog (who, we're told, saved his life after an overdose) and most of all his mother Holly (Roberts), who loves him unconditionally—well past the point where setting boundaries would be best. It turns out that Ben, as both a former user and dealer, has made too many enemies in his family's smallish town. On Christmas Eve, vandals break into the house and steal the dog. Holly and Ben set out to find him before the little ones wake up on Christmas morning.

If it all sounds rather jaunty—it isn't. The emotionally excruciating missing-dog hunt gives Holly a glimpse into Ben's past, and she learns some things a mother doesn't want to know. But the movie is so assertively *about* the social issue at its heart—the way opioid addiction tears families apart—that it barely leaves room for its characters to breathe. At times it feels more as if they're spokespeople with jobs to do. That takes its toll on both lead actors, especially Roberts: one minute she's Denial Mom, the next she's Tough Love Mom. We also meet Angry, Blame-Laying Mom and Cool Mom with a Sense of Humor. Even for a character reeling through helplessness and despair, that's a lot of moms. And not even Roberts can make us buy them all. ☐

'I felt like a cliché teenager, I wanted to rebel. But fortunately, I have a really great dad.'

LUCAS HEDGES, to IndieWire, on working with his father



Holly (Julia Roberts) shares a loving—but fraught—bond with her son Ben (Lucas Hedges)

The family that steals together sticks together

REVIEW

From Japan, a universal story

What binds a family? Does it have to be blood, or is love enough? Those are just a few of the questions Hirokazu Kore-eda asks in his tender, beautifully crafted *Shoplifters,* which won the top prize at Cannes this year.

Husband and wife Osamu and Nobuyo (Lily Franky and Sakura Ando) head up a makeshift clan crowded together in a ramshackle house. Even though both are employed—he's a day laborer in construction, she works at a laundry—the family barely squeaks by. And so Osamu has trained the couple's young adoptive son, Shota (Jyo Kairi), in the felonious art of shoplifting. One cold day, as he and Shota are returning from a "shopping" excursion, they encounter a neglected 5-year-old, Yuri (Miyu Sasaki), and worry that she might not be warm enough. They take her to their home, and before long, she too has become a thief in training—and family.

Kore-eda brings a delicate Dickensian touch to a story that may be set in Japan but has resonance the world over: no matter where you live, it's possible to work day and night and still struggle. *Shoplifters* is about a family that seems to be held together by scraps of string. But the invisible thread that connects them is as lustrous as silk and much, much stronger. —*S.Z.*

BEN IS BACK: ROADSIDE ATTRACTIONS; SHOPLIFTERS: MONGREL MEDIA

CHARLES TYRWHITT

JERMYN STREET LONDON

NON IRON

3 SHIRTS FOR ONLY

$99.95

NORMALLY $110 EACH

The finest non-iron shirts in the world

Special Introductory Offer

WWW.CTSHIRTS.COM/MRACR

1 866-797-2701 (24 hrs toll free)
Quote: MRACR

Visit us in store (see online for store details)
Quote: MRACR

Mix and match between dress shirts, casual & polos. Products imported. See full T&Cs online.

Plus free shipping

Bana, left, plays a megacreep in Dirty John

REVIEW

TV's take on a hit podcast is a *Dirty* shame

By Judy Berman

TRUE CRIME NEVER GOES OUT OF STYLE, BUT ONLY IN recent years has it become such a highbrow form. By embedding interrogations of identity, psychology and institutional corruption in real mysteries, the makers of *Serial, The Jinx* and *Making a Murderer* unleashed a deluge of tawdry tales with redeeming social value—or at least a veneer of it. Yet *Dirty John,* last year's hit podcast about a California con artist written and hosted by Los Angeles *Times* writer Christopher Goffard, always felt different. A gripping work of nonfiction storytelling laced with chilling archival audio, it was framed more as domestic noir than as an inquiry into any larger issue.

A better TV adaptation might have excavated the story's ample subtext about romance, faith and the failure of law enforcement to protect women from dangerous partners. But Bravo's *Dirty John,* premiering on Nov. 25, leans into the salaciousness, splitting the difference between soap opera and crime re-enactments in the hysterical style of *America's Most Wanted.* Directed by Jeff Reiner *(The Affair)* from a script by *Desperate Housewives* alum Alexandra Cunningham, it may be a conscious attempt at camp. But the show doesn't even succeed at that; its incompetence isn't entertaining.

The great Connie Britton, whose participation in this project is mystifying, plays heroine Debra Newell, a wealthy, well-preserved, churchgoing Southern California interior designer pushing 60. Though she's been divorced four times, Debbie is still seeking her soul mate—and she finds him, or so she thinks, in hunky anesthesiologist John Meehan (Eric Bana). Fresh off a streak of bad dates, she overlooks some strange behavior on his part and shrugs off the suspicions of her daughters, Veronica (Juno Temple) and Terra (Julia Garner). As John works to isolate Debbie from her family, they dig into his murky past. The picture of a double life that emerges, bit by bit, would turn Don Draper's whiskey-fortified blood to ice.

Even Britton, the beloved star of Friday Night Lights *and* Nashville, *can't save this cringe-worthy thriller*

BUT THIS ISN'T *MAD MEN*. Goffard's story incorporates so many elements poorly suited to a visual medium—phone calls, correspondence, the reporter's own reflections—that they seem to overwhelm the script, which often awkwardly copies and pastes exchanges from the source material. A heated email becomes a ridiculous confrontation. Flowery phrases lifted from Goffard's narration issue from the mouths of characters who aren't poets.

Cunningham could've expanded the podcast's intriguing but limited psychological portraits of Debbie and John. Instead, she flattens every character: Terra's babyish utterances defy belief; Veronica is a spoiled brat; John is pure evil. Forced to imitate Newell's high-pitched purr, even Britton does little to complicate a heroine defined by gullibility. Blandly luxurious sets and scenes that feel rushed bolster the impression that no one involved in this production wanted to spend a second longer on it than necessary.

All true-crime stories have to contend with the perennial criticism that the genre is exploitative. The best ones justify their existence by raising awareness of injustice or even, like Errol Morris' 1988 film *The Thin Blue Line,* ensuring that justice is served. The worst mine real people's pain for profit.

Goffard evidently had enough compassion for his subjects to eschew full-on schlockiness. If the creative forces behind Bravo's *Dirty John* had felt the same obligation, they might have ended up with a decent show. What they've made instead fails as TV, sure—but it also fails the women whose lives have been affected by predatory men. ◻

Bland's death sparked outrage

REVIEW

Still saying her name

Life had finally started coming together for 28-year-old Sandra Bland when, in 2015, Texas state trooper Brian Encinia pulled her over for failing to signal. Bland, a black woman from a Chicago suburb, had just moved south to work at her alma mater, Prairie View A&M. But she never had the chance to launch her career. Encinia apprehended her on dubious charges of assaulting an officer, and she was found hanging in her Waller County jail cell just three days later. Though Bland's death was eventually ruled a suicide, the hashtag #SayHerName and infuriating viral dashcam footage of her arrest kept her in the news.

The documentary *Say Her Name: The Life and Death of Sandra Bland,* which airs Dec. 3 on HBO, continues that tragic story. Directors Kate Davis and David Heilbroner *(Stonewall Uprising)* follow Bland's family as they fight for justice, while making space for Waller County authorities to plead their case. Interspersed with this reporting are heart-wrenching clips of a bright, energetic Bland discussing racial justice on her vlog. Ultimately the film can't offer firm answers about her death. But as a study in the harrowing fallout of police racism, it doesn't need to. —*J.B.*

REVIEW

Mrs. Maisel manages more marvels

EVERYONE LOVES A COMEBACK STORY, and with its first season, Amazon's *The Marvelous Mrs. Maisel* offered two of them. There was the unlikely evolution of heroine Miriam "Midge" Maisel (Rachel Brosnahan) from jilted Upper West Side Jewish housewife to rising downtown stand-up star. But the 1950s-set series also marked a triumph for its creator, Amy Sherman-Palladino, who'd spent years following her long run with *Gilmore Girls* struggling to find an audience for her chatty, female-focused shows. Sherman-Palladino cleaned up at the Emmys, and deservedly so.

Maisel returns on Dec. 5 with 10 new episodes that feel like a Hanukkah gift. As her career ramps up, Midge is struggling to keep her duties as a mom, daughter and department-store switchboard operator separate from the comedy world. Her last name gets printed in the paper. Her potty mouth causes scandals with her square friends. Even her gruff, penniless manager Susie (Alex Borstein) winds up house sitting at Midge's parents' place.

The plot can get a bit repetitive—we get it, comedy was sexist in the '50s—but what Sherman-Palladino's series lack in narrative momentum, they make up for in distinctive characters and cozy charm. In Brosnahan, she's found her most magnetic lead to date: Midge shines in every scene. Although the supporting cast is also wonderful, the decision to give her parents (Tony Shalhoub and Marin Hinkle), her ex (Michael Zegen) and Susie more independent story lines in Season 2 makes early episodes drag a bit. But the show becomes pure pleasure as it progresses—particularly in the episode when the Maisels take off for a trip to the Catskills and, just as she did in *Gilmore Girls,* Sherman-Palladino gets to build an entire close-knit community.

None of this quite makes *Maisel* TV's best comedy, though it's not hard to imagine why Emmy voters would be moved to bestow that honor on an upbeat retro showbiz story. From the glitz of old New York to the lavish period costumes to Brosnahan's mirthful grin, it's really grade A escapism. And in a year like 2018, when reality feels like one big escape room, *Maisel*'s second act is nothing short of a mitzvah. —J.B.

Brosnahan, left, won Best Lead Actress at the 2018 Emmys for her portrayal of Midge

DIRTY JOHN: BRAVO (2); SAY HER NAME: KENA BETANCUR—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THE MARVELOUS MRS. MAISEL: AMAZON

MEMOIR

An American icon tells her story

By Angie Thomas

WHEN I FIRST LEARNED THAT MICHELLE OBAMA was writing a memoir, one word emerged from the depths of my gut: *No!* That reaction came from a protectiveness conceived on Nov. 4, 2008, in my childhood home in Jackson, Miss. The election results had confirmed the impossible—America was getting its first black President. My mom paced, shouting her thanks to God. My 90-year-old grandmother cried. Gunshots sounded outside, which wasn't unusual—but this time they were followed by shouts of joy. I watched in pure disbelief as the four Obamas appeared on television, our incoming First Family, and even more than that, our first black First Family.

Then, for eight years, I watched as everything from the First Lady's facial expressions to her physique were used to either make her an "angry black woman" or insinuate that she wasn't a woman at all. Racism veiled as political discourse tried to prove that the Obamas were "un-American." But *Becoming,* Obama's memoir, proves that her story is far more American than her detractors may ever realize. It is the perfect blend of the American Dream and the American reality. As Obama herself has done, her book is breaking through. On its first day alone, it sold over 700,000 copies. We're in the middle of a nationwide celebration of a woman who was once ridiculed simply for existing.

My reactionary *no* when I heard Obama was writing about her life really meant, *Please, don't give them any more of yourself. They don't deserve you.* But one thing that *Becoming* quickly shows you is this: Obama does not let others define her, nor does she let them determine her actions.

HER BOOK IS INSPIRATIONAL without trying to be. Politics plays more of a background role; Obama makes it clear that D.C. antics played a huge part in her life but were not and are not her life. Instead, the writing is conversational and welcoming. Reading it feels like spending an afternoon in a sunroom with a friend who is sharing her life story, now and again breaking out in lively asides. The reader knows how the major events unfold, but Obama ties experiences from her youth to later moments so every new development feels fresh and satisfying. And even with all the coziness, *Becoming* never shies away from the uncomfortable realities of what it means to be a black woman in America, and more specifically what it means to be the first black First Lady of America.

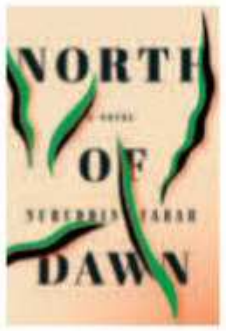
In the midst of sharing fond memories of growing up in Chicago, Obama also discusses how white flight shaped her South Side neighborhood and, in some ways, her childhood, creating an awareness that would stay with her from Euclid Avenue to Pennsylvania Avenue. She shows how a black girl from a working-class family went on to thrive at Princeton, while still acknowledging the responsibility that many minority students feel to represent their race when attending such a prestigious institution. She details the luxuries of living in the White House: the opulence and opportunities that very few are privileged to experience, yet recognizes that for her family, the lens zoomed in closer than on most others.

This balance is the heart of the book. This balance is the America that I know and that so many marginalized people know. At times, inequality seems sadly American. Yet even while addressing some of the ugly truths, *Becoming* is never grave. The book's power is in its ability to instill hope and optimism while maintaining honesty. It is "When they go low, we go high," in literary form. It is a coming-of-age tale, a love story and a family saga. More important, this book is a reminder that America is still a work in progress, and that *hope* can be an action word if we allow it to be. *Becoming* is a balm that America needs, from a woman America does not yet deserve.

In her memoir, Obama writes candidly about her marriage, her path to motherhood and her feelings about President Donald Trump

KWAKU ALSTON—GETTY IMAGES

Thomas is the author of The Hate U Give. *Her next book,* On the Come Up, *will be released in 2019*



FICTION

The human side of headlines

North of Dawn, the 13th novel from Nuruddin Farah, follows the lives of an expat Somali couple, Mugdi and Gacalo, who have lived in Oslo for years. Despite assimilating handily and raising their children in a mostly secular setting, their only son Dhaqaneh returns to Somalia as a jihadi and ends his life in a suicide attack. In fulfillment of a promise, Gacalo and Mugdi fly Dhaqaneh's widow and children to live under their protection in an environment that proves strange and sometimes hostile for a family with competing values.

Farah, a Somali literary lion, has been described as "the most important African novelist to emerge in the past 25 years" by the *New York Review of Books.* With the inclusion of real events, including the 2011 Oslo massacre, his latest novel tackles timely issues from the headlines: Islamophobia, mass migration and the societal strain of shifting demographics and extremism. Most impressive, though, is the way he grounds all this in the story of a single household, deftly projecting the political onto the personal. And while his unadorned prose might fall flat for some, Farah has a rare genius for taking an issue so weighty it might scare off a lesser writer and relating it with stunning clarity. Behind every death in the news, he reminds us, is a living, feeling family. *—N.M.*

FICTION

Help! My sister wants to kill my crush

By Nicholas Mancusi

KOREDE, THE PRACTICAL YOUNG nurse in Lagos, Nigeria, who serves as the narrator of Oyinkan Braithwaite's buzzy and darkly comedic debut novel *My Sister, the Serial Killer,* can't seem to signal her affections to Tade, the handsome doctor who works in her hospital. She's unlucky in love, to be sure—but not nearly so much as the boyfriends of her beautiful younger sister Ayoola who keep turning up dead.

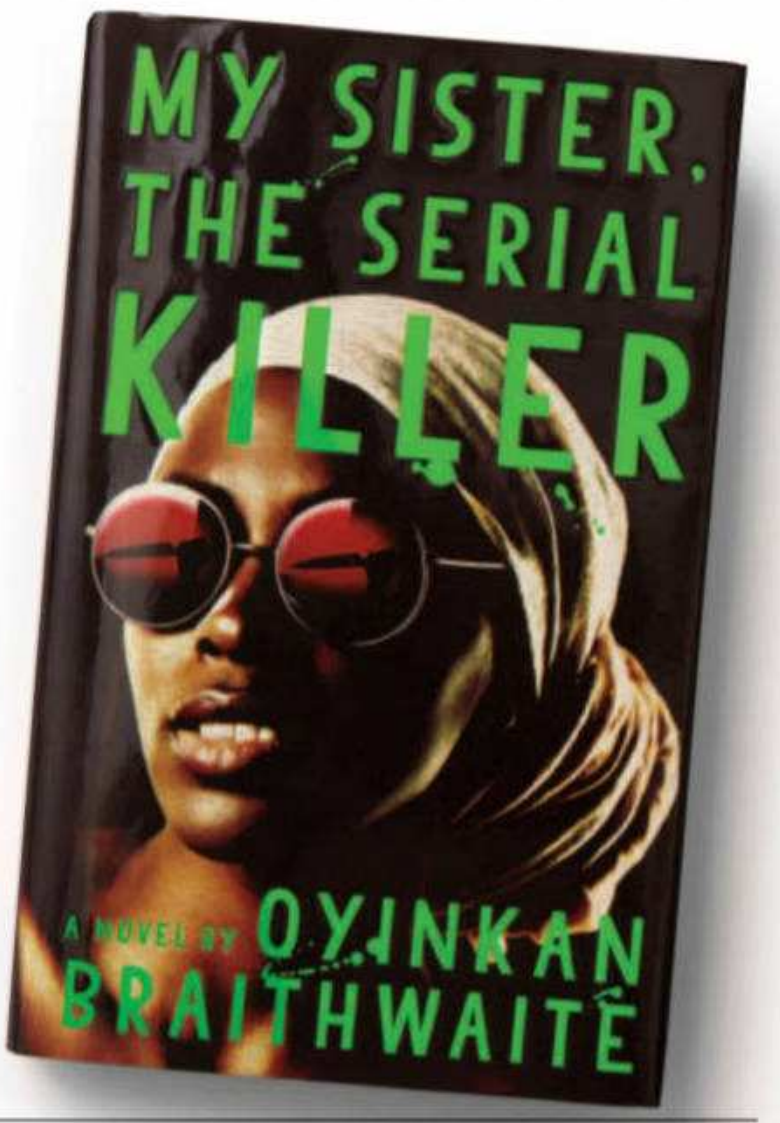
What the police don't know, but Korede does, is that Ayoola prefers to deliver a knife to the heart rather than risk a potential rejection. "Three and they call you a serial killer," Korede reminds her sister, after being called yet again to help disappear the body of a bad date. But when Ayoola attracts the attention of the dreamy Dr. Tade, Korede must decide whether or not to warn him. Blood may be thicker than water—but Korede is running out of bleach.

> ***'Three and they call you a serial killer.'***
>
> **OYINKAN BRAITHWAITE**

Braithwaite, a poet, writer and editor who lives and works in Nigeria, wields a colloquial idiom and quick wit with aplomb, crafting a vibrant world in which sisterly bonds and obligations run up against morality. She illustrates for an American readership that recent re-evaluations of how dynamics should play out between men and women have hardly been confined to the U.S. The deeper questions that abound here are all timely: Is Ayoola's moral compass so damaged because of the sisters' abusive late father—and therefore outside of her control?

Did the men perhaps deserve it? Don't all men perhaps deserve it? And aren't we all ultimately monsters, each in our own way? (The answers, as Braithwaite knows, are maybe, no, no and no. But asking the questions is provocative enough.)

Braithwaite has updated these downright Dostoyevskian ideas for the social-media set, and the interrogation of how technology intersects with their lives only adds to the novel's campy appeal. Ayoola loves to flaunt on Snapchat and Instagram—sometimes a bit too soon after committing one of her murders—while Korede spends her free time watching TED talks. But beneath the *Weekend at Bernie's*–style morbid hilarity lies a real examination of the often nettlesome bonds of family, and what we owe to the ones we love. ◻



Braithwaite's small-format, portable debut is just 5 by 7 in.

Right now, 82,248 people want to say sorry.

But only 216 are taking their shot.

HERE'S TO THE SHOT TAKERS

A SHOT WORTH TAKING™

HORNITOS®

100% PURO AGAVE TEQUILA

DRINK SMART®

Hornitos® Tequila, 40% alc./vol. ©2018 Sauza Tequila Import Company, Chicago, IL

John Legend, Sia and Brett Eldredge are bringing the yuletide cheer with new and updated releases

REVIEW

Hitmakers get in the holiday spirit

By Raisa Bruner

JUST AFTER HALLOWEEN, THE SAME thing happens, year after year: Mariah Carey's "All I Want for Christmas Is You," first released in 1994, begins creeping up the charts. Soon it will be joined by several other 20th century holiday classics, like Irving Berlin's "White Christmas." (Bing Crosby's version is still the best-selling single of all time.) Love them or hate them, you'll be hearing these songs in department stores, on car radios and in commercial jingles from Thanksgiving until the sun sets on Christmas Day.

This year, there's a strong crop of stars pitching additions to the holiday-music canon. John Legend gives us *A Legendary Christmas,* which has six original songs and eight covers, plus appearances from star guests Stevie Wonder and Esperanza Spalding. Legend, known for his romantic piano ballads and rich voice, shines in this space: adding a golden touch of funk and jazz, he remixes familiar tunes with joyful, timeless spirit.

Where Legend prefers to riff on classics, chart-topping singer-songwriter Sia invents from scratch. *Everyday Is Christmas,* first released last year and updated with new songs for 2018, sees the artist fitting her brand of bright, muscular pop to Christmas-themed lyrics. The result is a 13-track album that sounds perfectly radio-friendly—even if its seasonal subject matter means it probably won't get played past January.

Then there's country star Brett Eldredge. On *Glow,* reissued this year with seven extra covers, Eldredge ditches his Southern twang and makes a detour into big-band orchestration, singing the classics with full-voiced, old-school showmanship. Fans may be surprised by his about-face, but the gamble is working; his duet with Meghan Trainor, "Baby, It's Cold Outside," is one of his most popular songs on Spotify.

It's a crowded season: Ingrid Michaelson, Jessie J and Aloe Blacc have also put out holiday projects, while Katy Perry dropped a one-off single. That's no surprise, since holiday albums are a smart side hustle, tiding artists over between album cycles while introducing them to broader audiences. But on the best of these releases, the artists sound liberated, like they're seizing the chance to step out of their lane. And if one of these tunes becomes a Mariah-level hit? It'll be a very happy New Year indeed. ◻

Every family has a black sheep. Or two.

Hornitos® Black Barrel® is aged like a whiskey. Hornitos® Cristalino is triple-distilled and refined for extra smoothness. Both push boundaries with every sip.

A SHOT WORTH TAKING™

DRINK SMART®
Hornitos® Tequila, 40% alc./vol. ©2018 Sauza Tequila Import Company, Chicago, IL

Peter Jackson The director of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy on his new World War I documentary, a labor of love that puts a human face on history

Your new film, *They Shall Not Grow Old*, uses technology to restore old footage from World War I. How is it different from other war documentaries? I've seen documentaries that use the same footage we do from the archives of the Imperial War Museum in England. But because the footage is so damaged, you're seeing the soldiers through the fog of time. They've always been these sort of Charlie Chaplin figures, grainy and scratchy. When I saw our film—colorized, stabilized, slowed down—it's like blowing away that fog. These men filmed 100 years ago suddenly came alive.

You restored over 100 hours of film taken on the Western Front. What state was it in when you got it? A lot of archive footage is third generation; it's a dupe of a dupe of the original. So it's grainy and the contrast is horrible. It has scratches or it's shrunk in its tin cans, so the perforations are uneven—that's why it jerks around on screen. All those problems need a different fix.

Is the film antiwar? I didn't have an agenda. I didn't want to start thinking of ideas and then find out there was no footage to support them. The film doesn't explore the causes of the war. The human experience, that's the fascinating stuff that documentaries never really get into. They tend to be about the battles or the politics. I was interested in the food they ate, how they slept, what they did on leave. It makes you think about what your life would be like if war broke out. Although I'm probably a little old to go to war now.

Is it true that you collect World War I planes? Yes. I've been interested since I was a kid, because my father used to tell me stories about my grandfather's service. I started with badges and scraps of uniform I'd buy at garage sales. As time went on, I got into guns, artillery and planes.

'I WAS INTERESTED IN THE FOOD THEY ATE, HOW THEY SLEPT, WHAT THEY DID ON LEAVE'

VICTORIA JONES—PA/AP

What do you do with all of it? Gosh, that's a tricky question. What do you do with a collection? Part of the fun is that there's always something you haven't found yet. The Germans had this flame-thrower they'd carry on their backs. I haven't managed to find one yet.

J.R.R. Tolkien drew on his experience in World War I to write *The Lord of the Rings*. Having worked with both, do you see a link? For me there are two areas where it's blatantly obvious. First, there's a scene in *The Two Towers* where Frodo and Sam are crossing the Dead Marshes, a series of pools with corpses visible under the surface. That certainly seems influenced by the Western Front. Second, as a British officer, Tolkien would have had a batman—a junior soldier who was sort of a servant. Samwise Gamgee is very much written as the batman to Frodo.

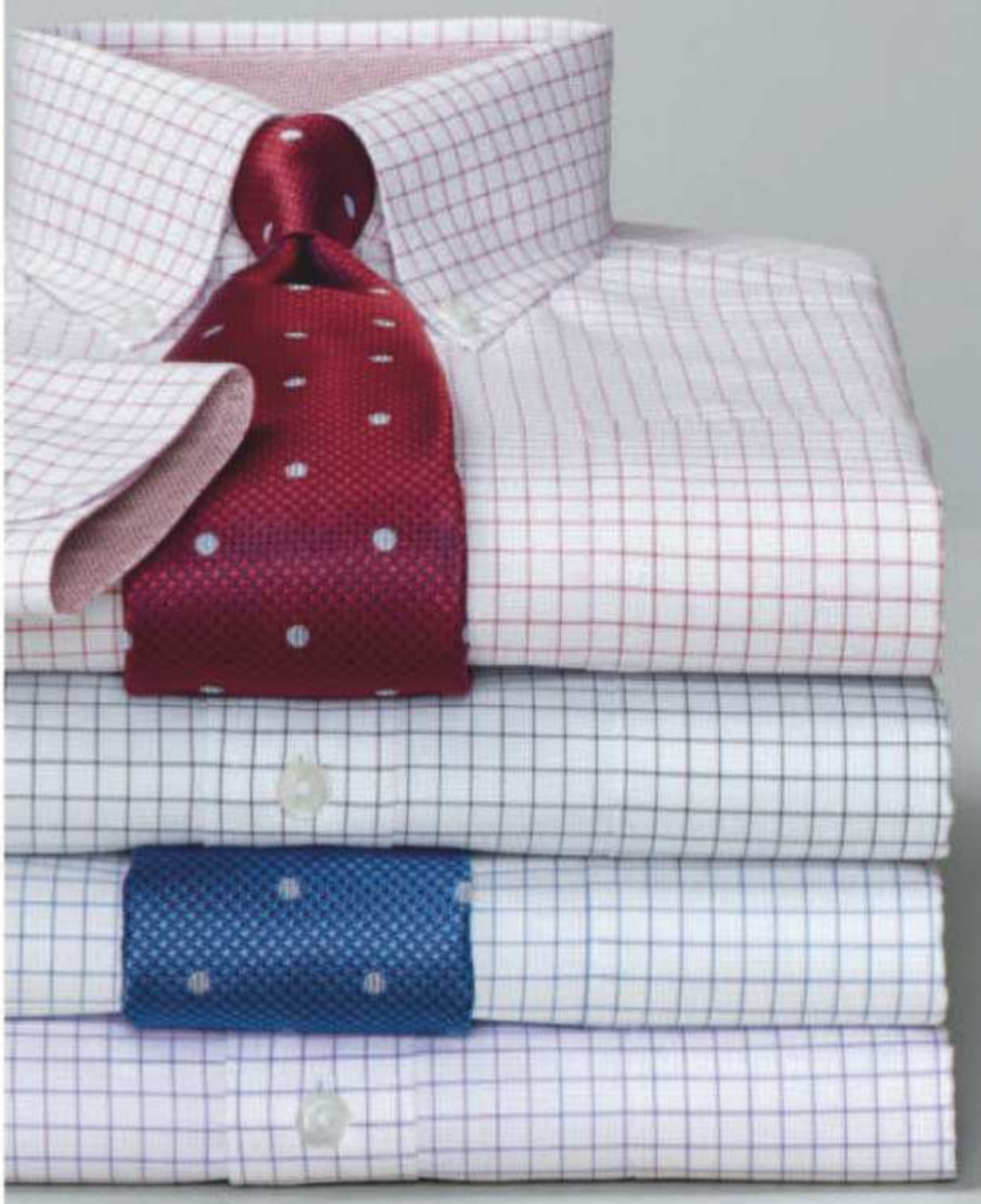
Amazon has announced a TV series based on *LOTR*. Would you like to be involved? As a fan of the books, part of me would love to see an adaptation I'm not involved in. But I also feel a sort of parental connection to the material. I'm very happy to help if they want me.

Do you agree with fans who argue that most fantasy films are allegories for international politics? I don't think anyone's watching Marvel movies to get a lesson about politics. But escapist films tend to be most popular in times of uncertainty. With the Depression, we got *Frankenstein* and *Dracula*. At the height of the Cold War, there were a lot of sci-fi and monster movies. In the 1970s, when the Vietnam War ended, you had a generation of filmmakers like [Martin] Scorsese and [Francis Ford] Coppola making more realistic dramas. When the fantasy films disappear for a while, we'll know the world's a safer place. May it happen as soon as possible. —CIARA NUGENT

THE IMPECCABLE SHIRT™

ALL COTTON.
PURE GENIUS.

Try the world's best non-iron, high-performance dress shirt.



THE MOST COMFORTABLE, EASIEST CARE,
100% COTTON SHIRTS FOUND ANYWHERE.

7 HIGH PERFORMANCE FEATURES

15 PATTERNS AND SOLID COLORS

3 FITS - REGULAR, SLIM, BIG & TALL

56 EXACT COLLAR AND SLEEVE SIZES

GUARANTEED PERFECT FIT!

Limited-Time Offer

**BUY ONE,
GET ONE FREE!**

reg $99.50 each

ORDER NOW!

PaulFredrick.com/PERFORM

800.309.6000

Mention promo code: M8HPTB

Paul Fredrick

Free exchanges. Easy returns. Imported. Shipping extra. Offer expires 1/31/19.

Now, you can search "jobs for veterans" and enter your MOS code to find civilian jobs that match your skills.

Google

jobs for veterans

Google Search | I'm Feeling Lucky

For free job training resources, visit
google.com/grow/veterans

Grow with Google